AMERICAN SPEECH

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American Speech is published four times a year (No. 1, Feb.—No. 2, Apr.—No. 3, Oct.—No. 4, Dec.) by Columbia University Press: Single copies, $1.00 (foreign, $1.10)—$4.00 a year (foreign, including Canada, $4.30). Subscribers should notify the Publisher of change of address at least three weeks before publication of issue with which change is to take effect.

Manuscript, editorial communications, and books for review should be addressed to The Editor of *American Speech,* Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. Subscriptions and business correspondence should be addressed to *American Speech,* Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, or 450 Ahnaip St., Menasha, Wis.

Entered as second class matter March 26, 1938, at the post office at Menasha, Wis., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1944 by Columbia University Press.

AMERICAN SPEECH

VOLUME XIX APRIL, 1944 NUMBER 2

THE WORD 'COMMANDO'

ELLIOTT V. K. DOBBIE
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WHEN, ON October 10, 1941, the British War Office announced that the Special Service units of the British army, which had then been in training for more than a year, were called 'Commandos,' many people, in both England and America, were puzzled as to the origin and meaning of the term. Those whose memories go back to the South African War of 1899-1902 may well have been reminded of the Boer commandos in that war, whose skilful tactics prolonged the hostilities for a year and a half after the principal towns of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal had been occupied by British forces. But since the commandos of the present war are not the same thing as the Boer commandos of forty-five years ago, and since there seems to be considerable confusion in the public mind concerning the history and present meaning of *commando,* it may be worth while to attempt a brief account of the word, which, so far as I know, is the only distinctively South African contribution to the vocabulary of World War II.

I

As used in Afrikaans, or 'Cape Dutch,' until the end of the South African War, the word *commando* meant a body of burghers called out for military service, usually on a more or less temporary basis, depending on the emergency at hand. It corresponded most closely, therefore, to the English term *militia.* The commando was not the individual burgher, but the military unit of which he was a member; this distinction is important, as will appear later in this article.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary,* the word *commando* was borrowed by the South Africans from Portuguese.[1] It is true that the early settlers at the Cape were in frequent contact with Portuguese sea-

1. So also the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th ed.), Vol. 6, p. 106. I have not, however, found the South African meaning of *commando* in any Portuguese dictionary which I have consulted.

farers on their way to the east and with the Malay-Portuguese jargon spoken by slaves from the East Indies, and that they borrowed a number of words from these sources.[2] But the Netherlands Dutch word *commando,* which dates back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, seems a more probable source. The usual meanings of Dutch *commando* are (1) 'a military order' and (2) 'the exercise of military authority.' But we also find, in the large *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal,* one quotation from 1652 which comes very close to the South African meaning: 'Eenen Vreemden Ridder met een aensienelick Gheleyde ende Commando.'[3] In German, *Kommando* (borrowed, probably from Italian, about 1600) means not only 'command,' but also 'a detachment of troops (or of police).' The earliest quotation, however, which I have found for the latter meaning is from 1737.[4] Many German settlers went to South Africa during the eighteenth century, particularly during the years 1750-1775,[5] and there are a number of German loan words in Afrikaans; but it is probable that the South African meaning of *commando* had developed before the influence of German made itself felt to any large degree. It seems most likely, therefore, that it is from Dutch *commando,* in the sense exemplified by the quotation of 1652 given above, that the South African meaning was derived. Both Dutch and Afrikaans authorities give Spanish *comando* as the source of the Dutch word.[6]

The commando system, in a rudimentary form, can be traced back in South African history at least as far as the early years of the eighteenth century, when the settlers around the Cape, then under the rule of the Dutch East India Company, began to make reprisals for cattle raids by the aboriginal bushmen from the interior. The earliest commandos were made up of volunteers under the command of officers appointed by the Company, but at a somewhat later time commando service was made obligatory for all those who lived in the frontier regions. As the frontier

2. A discussion of Afrikaans loan words from Portuguese and Malay-Portuguese is to be found in S. P. E. Boshoff, *Volk en Taal van Suid-Afrika* (Pretoria, 1921), pp. 351-372. Among the words from Portuguese which Boshoff discusses are *tasal,* 'dried strip of meat' (< Port. *tassalho*), *ramkie,* a musical instrument (< Port. *rabequinha,* dimin. of *rabeca*), and *tronk,* 'prison' (< Port. *tronco*).

3. 'A strange knight with a considerable retinue and commando,' *Hollandsche Mercurius,* 1652, 31*b*, cited by *Woordenboek,* Vol. 3, Pt. 2 (1916), col. 2075f.

4. '. . . unter Begleitung eines Commando von fünff Mann,' *Entdeckter Jüdischer Baldober* (Coburg, 1737), p. 211, cited by H. Schulz, *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch,* Vol. 1 (Strassburg, 1910ff.), p. 361.

5. It is estimated (see Boshoff, *op. cit.,* p. 10) that in 1806, when the Cape finally came under British rule, the German element in the population amounted to about 27%.

6. *Woordenboek der nederl. Taal, l.c.;* S. P. E. Boshoff, *Etimologiese Woordeboek van Afrikaans* (1936), p. 74.

was extended, the authority of the Company became less strong in the outlying areas, and the settlers were thrown more and more on their own resources; but the fundamental military organization, the commando system, remained unchanged in its essential characteristics. When the Cape came under British rule at the beginning of the nineteenth century, an attempt was made to replace the burgher commandos by a more regular military establishment, but the great distances and scattered population of the frontier made such an establishment difficult to maintain, and the commandos remained in much their earlier form.

So much for the early history of commandos in South Africa—a subject which, for one who does not have access to original documents, must be studied almost entirely through secondary sources.[7] Although the word *commando,* in this sense, must be at least as old as the commando system itself—that is, as old as the beginning of the eighteenth century—the earliest quotations which I have found for *commando* in South African documents date from the year 1777.[8] In English context I have found no quotation earlier than 1809.[9]

From the period of the Great Trek (which began in 1835), a considerable number of diaries, letters and official documents have been printed,[10]

7. The most informative treatment of the early commandos which has been available to me is P. J. van der Merwe's *Die Noordwaartse Beweging van die Boere voor die Groot Trek, 1770-1842* (The Hague, 1937). For shorter treatments in English, see G. E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa,* Vol. 1 (London, 1910), pp. 16-20; E. A. Walker, *History of South Africa* (2d ed., London, 1941), *passim* (see his index). Dr. G. M. Theal's older history pays little attention to commandos as such.

8. '. . . om dezelve door sterkere Commando's te doen attacqueeren' ('to attack them [the Bushmen] with stronger commandos'), resolution of the Cape Council, June 5, 1777, quoted by van der Merwe, *op. cit.,* p. 41; '. . . om . . . zorge te dragen en doen dragen, dat de wijven en weerlose kinderen gespaard, en zo veel mogelijk is, deselve zo wel als gequetste en gevangenen door de Commando's . . . niet mishandeld nog op eene cruille wijze werden om 't leven gebragt' ('to take care and to have care taken, that the women and defenceless children should be spared, and, as far as possible, that they, as well as those wounded and captured by the commandos, should not be mistreated or killed in a cruel way'), resolution of the Council of War at Capetown, June 16, 1777, quoted *ibid.,* p. 43. In Donald Moodie's *The Record: or a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes in South Africa,* Vol. 3 (Capetown, 1841), pp. 20ff., we find references to commandos as early as 1773-1774, but since Moodie's texts are English translations of the original documents, I have not felt justified in taking account of them here.

9. '. . . the prohibition to their carrying off women and children [i.e., of the Bushmen, for servants] has greatly served to damp their ardour for commandos,' report of Lieut.-Col. Richard Collins to the Governor, the Earl of Caledon, August 6, 1809, quoted by van der Merwe, *op. cit.,* p. 87. The earliest citation for *commando* in the *OED* is dated 1834, and for *on commando* (= Afrikaans *op commando,* 'on commando service'), 1824 (in the Supplement).

10. Most notably in *Voortrekker-Argiefstukke 1829-1849* (ed. H. S. Pretorius and D. W. Kruger, Pretoria, 1937), a collection of documents preserved in the Pretoria archives. The most famous of the Voortrekker diaries is Louis Trigardt's (*Dagboek van Louis Trichardt,* ed. G. S. Preller, Capetown, 1938).

and in these we find frequent references to commandos. In the 1840's, *commando* seems to have been used not merely of punitive expeditions by the Boers against the Kaffir tribes with whom they came in contact beyond the Orange River and in Natal, but also for expeditions by the Kaffirs against the Boers.[11] At this period, then, *commando* still had its earlier meaning of a military party called out for specific, and usually temporary, purposes. But in the course of time, the burgher commandos became an integral part of the defence systems of the two South African republics.

At the outbreak of the war with Great Britain in 1899, the only permanent military establishments in the two republics consisted of artillery and police forces; the great bulk of the Boer armies were organized on the traditional burgher system, in which the commando was the administrative as well as the tactical unit. All burghers between the ages of 16 and 60 were liable for commando service. Each commando, made up of the burghers summoned for military service from a single town or electoral district, was under the command of a Commandant, who had two or more field-cornets serving under him. These officers were paid officials of the state, but in practice were usually elected by the burghers themselves. On reporting to his field-cornet, a burgher was required to bring with him his horse, with saddle and bridle, a rifle and ammunition, and enough food for a specified period, usually eight days.[12] The organization and administration of the commandos were extremely loose, judged by European standards, and their supply services were crude and frequently non-existent. But their tactical mobility gave them undoubted advantages over a European-trained army. They were, in fact, bodies of mounted infantry, using their horses for transportation from place to place, but usually dismounting for actual combat. The skilful use by the Boer commandants of the technique of surprise attack and rapid retreat, reinforced by their intimate knowledge of the terrain over which the war was fought; and the individual initiative of the

11. E.g., 'een Comandoe van Pandaa is gesien aan dees sy Buffel refier' ('a commando of Panda [king of the Zulus] has been seen on this side of the Buffalo River [in Natal]),' letter of A. T. Spies to A. W. Pretorius, May 24, 1841, in *Voortrekker-Argiefstukke,* p. 128; 'Kaffers, in vollen Comando dres' ('Kaffirs, in full commando dress'), letter of J. D. Steller, 1841, *ibid.,* p. 147.

12. A Transvaal summons to commando service is printed, in English translation, in H. Klein, *Stage-Coach Dust: Pioneer Days in South Africa* (London, 1937), p. 190. Excellent descriptions of commando organization at the beginning of the war are given by General C. R. de Wet in his *Three Years' War* (New York, 1902), espec. pp. 3-7, and by Colonel Deneys Reitz in his *Commando* (London, 1929), espec. p. 21. Colonel Reitz's book is probably the best account of the South African War from the point of view of a Boer soldier.

burghers, developed by years of life on the open veld, which made it possible for a commando, when in difficulties, to disband and later to reassemble at a predetermined rendezvous—these were the guiding elements in the Boer military strategy. At their best, the commandos were highly efficient fighting units; at their poorest, they never quite descended to the condition of guerrilla bands; and the largest armies that Great Britain had ever put into the field up to that time required the better part of three years to bring the war to an end.

Credit for reviving the word *commando* in the British army in 1941 is generally given to Mr. Winston Churchill,[13] but according to *Combined Operations,* the official story of the Special Service troops of World War II, the word was suggested for its present use by Lieutenant-Colonel D. W. Clarke, Royal Artillery, of the Imperial General Staff.[14] In any case, it is aptly used, for the very qualities which contributed so much to the effectiveness of the Boer commandos—tactical mobility, individual ruggedness and initiative, knowledge of the terrain to be fought over—are the ones which have been emphasized in the training of the Special Service troops in the present war.

II

In World War II, a Commando[15] is a unit of Special Service troops, roughly corresponding in size to a battalion, trained for combined operations. This is the official meaning of the word, and is exemplified in the following quotations, taken from *Combined Operations,* mentioned at the end of the preceding section:[16]

> . . . the sub-units of a Commando are known as Troops (p. 6).
>
> The man who commits too many small crimes suffers the final penalty; he leaves his Commando (pp. 7-8).

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13. *The New Yorker,* Apr. 25, 1942, p. 34/2-3; *Bulletins from Britain,* No. 87, p. 14 (Apr. 29, 1942); *Time,* June 8, 1942, p. 25/1; *Life,* Nov. 8, 1943, p. 109.

14. [H. St. G. Saunders], *Combined Operations: the Official Story of the Commandos* (New York: Macmillan, 1943), p. 4.

15. In official use the word now seems always to have a capital *C,* and I shall therefore capitalize it in the remainder of this article. In the magazines and newspapers quoted below, usage with regard to capitalization of *Commando* varies considerably; I have preserved the original form in all quoted matter, without comment.

16. In this book, 'Commando' always refers to a military unit, and not to the individual soldier, except in three instances, for which Mr. Saunders naturally cannot be held responsible, in which eye-witness accounts of the raid on St. Nazaire in March, 1942, are being quoted: 'The Commandos were carrying out their duties of demolition' (p. 80); '. . . the Commandos in the area of the "Tirpitz" dock had undoubtedly overcome the resistance in that area' (p. 86); '. . . there was a shed near the pumping houses which the Commandos had set on fire' (p. 87). In these quotations, 'Commandos' must mean individual soldiers, since No. 2 Commando was the only one which took part in the St. Nazaire raid.

. . . when it comes to putting ashore a few dozen men of a Commando in a quiet Breton cove . . . , that knowledge tells (p. 11).

But the word has from the beginning been widely accepted in a different sense, both in this country and in Great Britain. The New York *Times,* in its issue of October 11, 1941, announcing the formation of the Commandos, said: 'Every "commando" is required to swim short distances in full equipment with his rifle held above the water' (p. 2/6, special cable from London by James MacDonald). Here *commando* is taken to mean the individual soldier, not the unit of which he is a member; and this interpretation of the word seems, at least in America, to be more prevalent than the official one.

Military men, and journalists who have accompanied Commando operations or who have seen Commando units in training, as a rule use the word only in the official sense, to refer to a military unit. In this category belong articles by Stephen Watts,[17] R. C. Hutchinson,[18] and Colonel R. Ernest Dupuy,[19] and the book on the Dieppe raid by A. B. Austin.[20] General H. S. Sewell, the British war commentator, in his article 'Commandos, Past and Present,'[21] uses *Commando* in the official sense most of the time, as the following quotations show:

Major Boyle outlined the training of the men of a British Commando . . . (p. 14).

There is a central headquarters which co-ordinates the policy and training of each unit, but without in any way interfering with the commanding officer of the Commando. Each Commando is free to train in whatever it considers the best way (*ibid.*).

His [Colonel Newman's] behavior is an example of the spirit of the officers and men of the Commandos (p. 16).

But at one place in his article, he uses the word *Commandos* to refer to individual soldiers: 'Having landed at night and cut the communications before the Germans knew they had arrived, a party of Commandos previously assigned to this task took a car and drove to the house' (p. 16).

In the weekly news magazines there has been considerable variation in usage. The *Illustrated London News* during the fall of 1942 (the only period for which I have quotations) twice used *Commando* to refer to a military unit:

Our last drawing shows the assault in progress which resulted in the silencing of

17. 'All Fighting Men Together,' *The New Yorker,* Apr. 25, 1942, pp. 34ff.
18. 'Excursion to Norway: Commando in Action,' *Atlantic Monthly,* 170: 7-13 (July, 1942).
19. 'Dieppe: a Reconnaissance in Force,' *Infantry Journal,* 52: 45-50 (May, 1943).
20. *We Landed at Dawn: the Story of the Dieppe Raid* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1943).
21. *Bulletins from Britain,* No. 87, pp. 14-16 (Apr. 29, 1942).

the heavy gun battery at Varangeville, an operation in which No. 4 Commando attacked simultaneously from front and rear . . . (August 29, 1942, p. 231).

It was Lord Lovat's No. 4 Commando who were the first men to jump ashore at Dieppe (November 28, 1942, p. 611).

These quotations, however, are balanced by two others, both of them captions for photographs, in which the other meaning of *Commando* is apparent. In the issue of September 5, 1942, a photograph is said to represent 'commandos by a disabled tank' (p. 270); there are two men in the picture. The following week a caption reads: 'A tank-landing craft in tow by a destroyer. Three commandos, swimming out from Dieppe, had found it drifting and set it going' (September 12, 1942, p. 290).

Life shows a similar inconsistency during 1941 and the early part of 1942. In its issue of November 17, 1941, it carried (p. 63) a box headed 'Commandos Are a British Innovation.' Here we read:

Britain's commandos, small bands of specially trained volunteers who raid Axis-held territory . . .

Last week a British officer revealed that during Wavell's Libyan offensive a year ago, a commando of 60 men raided the Italian stronghold of Bardia.

But later in the same article (p. 66) there is a photograph with the caption, 'From behind a stone wall during maneuvers in England, commandos practice how to jump forward and fire'; there are only two men in the photograph. Other quotations from *Life,* also using *Commando* to refer to an individual soldier, are:

House-to-house, the Commandos move ahead in groups (caption for photograph, January 26, 1942, p. 20; there are three men in the picture).

Wounded Commando, shot in the leg, is helped toward . . . boat (caption for photograph, *ibid.,* p. 21).

I should like to be able to give later quotations from *Life,* but all the references to Commandos which I have seen in more recent issues are ambiguous in meaning, and there would be no point in quoting them here.

The only one of the weeklies for which I have a good selection of usable quotations is *Time.* In the fall of 1941 and early in 1942, *Time* used *Commando* to refer to the individual soldier; I have the following quotations from this period:

A detachment of Canadian Commandos crossed the Channel with sealed instructions to proceed to a certain building on the French coast (November 10, 1941, p. 28/3).

At dawn invasion barges filled with Commandos put off from warships (January 5, 1942, p. 25/2).

When the time came the Commandos daubed their faces with burnt cork (January 12, 1942, p. 26/1).

The Commandos went around to the front door and knocked (*ibid.*).

But since May 4, 1942, apparently having become aware of the official meaning of the word, the editors of *Time* have consistently used *Commando* to refer to a military unit:

Major the Lord Lovat, . . . whose Commando included men of Ulster, Palestine, Indian as well as Scottish and English regiments (May 4, 1942, p. 17/2).

A Commando is not an individual soldier, but a military unit similar to a battalion (footnote, June 8, 1942, p. 25/1).

A Navy-borne British Commando eased up to the coast of Northern France (June 15, 1942, p. 18/3).

Some members of the Commando kept up a covering fire from the beach (*ibid.*).

The Commandos got ashore, but they had to withdraw, cut to pieces (August 31, 1942, p. 28/1).

Coincidentally with this change in the use of *Commando,* the editors of *Time* began to refer to the individual soldiers of a Commando as 'Commandomen,' and have continued to use this term down to the present time (May 4, 1942, p. 17/1; May 18, 1942, p. 23/2; June 8, 1942, p. 25/3; July 27, 1942, p. 62/3; January 3, 1944, p. 31/1).

In the New York *Times Magazine* for April 5, 1942, Peter Locke, writing on 'Hard-Hitting Commandos,' uses the word consistently to mean a single soldier:

On duty or off the Commando is the best disciplined, most orderly man in the empire armies (p. 7/4).

Swimming noiselessly with full equipment, including pack and rifle, may be highly useful to an English Commando, but it doesn't help his brother in the Middle or Far East very much (p. 33/2).

A Commando's working clothes are as adaptable as the man himself . . . (p. 33/3).

Very few are wounded, and no Commando expects to be taken prisoner (p. 33/4).

But on August 30th of the same year, writing from London to the *Times Magazine,* Stephen Drew uses the word only in the sense of a military unit:

The name, incidentally, applies only to units and not to soldiers themselves (p. 6/1).

At Dieppe, one Commando under Lord Lovat landed on the heavily defended beach . . . (p. 6/3).

The few clerks, drivers and cooks are regular members of the Commando and must maintain their standards as fighting men or leave (p. 7/3).

Bruce Thomas, in an article in *Harper's* for March, 1942, is less consistent:

Each unit, each Commando—a name which came into use in the South African Boer War, meaning a party commanded for military purposes—is made up of severely trained and tested soldiers (p. 438).

Oh, they are grand fellows, these Commandos—providing they are on your side (p. 439).

The Commando has learned what to do—to get where he wants, leave destruction and chaos behind him, and bring information out (p. 440).

In the first quotation, the Commando is a military unit; in the other two it (or he) is an individual soldier.

William Bayles, in the *American Mercury* for February, 1943, though he speaks of 'Commando troops,' seems to prefer the use of *Commando* to mean a single soldier:

To make every Commando into a one-man army, Lord Louis and his advisers have devised a system of training that makes a man hard as flint and develops his self-reliance (p. 186).

The individual commando understands that once his task is assigned, the method of achieving it is up to him (p. 188).

A more informal note is achieved in an article on the Mountbatten family by Lesley Blanch in *Vogue* for January 15, 1944, where Lord Louis Mountbatten is said to have become *'Commando-in-Chief'* (italics in the original) in succession to Sir Roger Keyes, and Lady Louis is quoted as having called herself 'Just the wife of a Commando.'

Some miscellaneous quotations from the New York daily press, illustrating the use of *Commando* to refer to a single soldier, may be cited here without further comment:

. . . the Commandos, their faces blackened and their feet shod in sneakers, were creeping up to the wire on the beaches . . . (New York *Times,* April 23, 1942, p. 1/8).

Buried in Channel as Dead, Commando Does 'Nicely' (headline in New York *Times,* September 2, 1942, p. 10/3).

German broadcasts said today that about 400 British Commandos had landed on the 'toe' of the Italian 'boot' on Sunday (U. P. dispatch in New York *Times,* September 1, 1943, p. 5/2).

The Germans said that about thirty Commandos 'appear to have fled into the hills' (*ibid.*).

I have just come ashore on the southern tip of Italy with a motor launch from the British destroyer Quail to take off six British Commandos (A. P. story by Paul Kern Lee in New York *Times,* September 6, 1943, p. 3/1).

Because every Commando's muscles must be hard as nails—every bone in his body solid and strong . . . he *must* get vitamin C every day (grapefruit advertisement in New York *Times Magazine,* January 2, 1944, p. 20).

A number of figurative meanings of *Commando* have also cropped up from time to time. We are most of us familiar with 'Junior Commandos'

of one sort or another;[22] we also find ship repairmen referred to as 'commandos of the shipyards' (*Reader's Digest,* March, 1943, p. 107/1). The Topeka *Journal* of March 20, 1943 (p. 3/4) reported 'Victory garden commandos,' school boys who, 'for a flat price, will turn that backyard weed patch into a thriving vegetable plot.' Reporting the visit of a Russian trade union mission to England, *Time* for February 16, 1942 (p. 32/1) tells us that 'Comrade Shvernik and his 13 comrade commandos prepared for the trip home.' Such figurative uses of the word are likely to become more numerous in the course of time; for obvious reasons, a Commando, in the figurative sense, is necessarily an individual rather than a group of individuals.

The quotations which I have presented above are the product of my own rather unsystematic reading in books and periodicals, and of the kindness of friends who have given me references.[23] It is, however, unlikely that a more extended search for material would result in a markedly different picture of present-day usage. Probably three-quarters of the references to Commandos which I have seen are quite ambiguous, and furnish no clue as to which of the two meanings of the word was in the writer's mind. I have naturally omitted these, and have likewise made no attempt to deal with attributive uses of the word—'Commando troops,' 'Commando raids,' 'Commando tactics,' and the like.

At the present time, we may conclude, the word *Commando* is not very clearly defined in the popular consciousness. To some people (including, apparently, those in Great Britain who deal officially with such matters), it means a unit of command in the British Special Service forces; to others, it means an individual soldier who is a member of one of these units. Indeed, there are those for whom, somewhat illogically, it means both of these things. The future general who asks for 'three Commandos' may well be uncertain just how many men he is going to get.

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22. For one kind of 'Junior Commandos,' see *Time,* Sept. 14, 1942, p. 86/3.

23. For such assistance I am indebted to Mr. Allen Walker Read, Dr. Helaine Newstead, and Mrs. Mary Dobbie, and especially to Dr. Dwight L. Bolinger.

SOME NEW WORDS BY WAR OUT OF WOOD

ELRICK B DAVIS
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WAR IS ALWAYS a hypodermic for research into new ways to use old materials, new ways both to conserve[1] and to make easily available essential military and civilian supplies, and ways to accomplish industrial development of laboratory discoveries or processes which have not gone into use production. In each case new words, or old words in new uses, are part of the grist. Thus the Napoleonic war produced *canned*[2] foods; the American Civil War, *condensed milk;*[3] and World War I

1. 'The Editor's Log,' signed Ovid Butler, *American Forests,* December, 1942, contains an 'eye witness' account of 'how the word "conservation" came to be selected to designate the American movement for better management of national resources. . . . Those of the older generation,' Mr. Butler continues, 'know that it goes back to the days of Theodore Roosevelt, when forestry was just beginning to walk in this country. But how T.R. happened to seize upon the word and with characteristic vigor and lasting effect fasten it upon a movement that eventually was to embrace virtually all resources is not generally known. Recently Harry Slattery, administrator of the Rural Electric Administration, . . . revealed the historical circumstances which attended the adoption of the word. Speaking before a meeting of the Friends of the Land, he said: "I was there when *conservation* was born or at least we named it. This is how it happened. Sir Frederick Brandes, . . . a great German, English, Indian, and South African forester, . . . was in Washington. . . . Embryonic work had been started here in conservation. I had been on the Interstate Waterways Commission. We had some reclamation work. Hugh Bennett had started his preachments on soil conservation. One day T.R. said in his fine manner, 'We have got to find some name for this thing.' . . . 'Why don't you call it conservation? We have soil conservation districts in India,' Brandes said. On a horseback ride the next day . . . T.R. said, 'It is going to be *conservation.*' And conservation it was."

'Later T.R. gave the briefest and best definition of the word that has yet been written. "Conservation," he said, "is preservation by wise use." '

2. Both the OED and the DAE seem to have been somewhat delinquent in finding early examples of *canned* applied to food. Canned food was the invention, 1809-10, of the Frenchman, Nicholas Appert, who sold his process to the French government. Food canning was first practiced in the United States by Ezra Daggett, between 1815 and 1819. His son-in-law, Thomas Kensett, expanded the process. A patent was granted them for tin-canning in 1825, when the 'can' was called a 'case.' However, the first note on canned food in the DAE is 1859, R. B. Marcy's *Prairie Traveler,* 'Canned vegetables are very good for campaigning.' This might indicate military supplies. As everyone knows, *canned* food is now ordinarily called *tinned* food in England, but OED reference to the process starts with 1865 (*Morning Star,* 13 April), 'Canned milk.' The first OED *tinned* reference is cited from *Echo,* 18 October, 1879: 'The trade in tinned food is enormous.' Food canning continued to be underwritten by military use for a considerable time. Cf. DAE, 1871, F. M. A. Roe, *Army Letters:* 'The post trader sends to St. Louis for . . . canned oysters.'

3. The first patent for what proved to be an industrially practicable method for condensing milk was granted to Gail Borden in 1856. Earlier patents governing tentative methods had been granted in 1835, 1848, and 1855. The Civil War created such a market for condensed milk that Borden developed improvements patented in 1862, 1863, 1865, and 1866. The first DAE citation for the term *condensed milk* is 1863,

regularized *evaporated milk*[4] for the common language. Similar additions sired by the present war are myriad. A good many are coming from new uses for wood.

This is not surprising because wood has proved to be, in the expression of Dr. Wilson Compton, the safety valve material in a war of resources plagued by unforeseen bottlenecks. Under-Secretary of War Patterson has reported to the country that the war uses 25 per cent more wood than it does steel. To replace strategic metals needed for other purposes, American forest products industries have found methods to process raw wood in many ways, and each new product has had to be named. Some of the names are mere trade names, but others must inevitably become items in the standard language because they are the only names for specific materials. At the moment these include:

Impregnated wood. Just in time for this war, synthetic resin glues had been developed and proved which have two outstanding characteristics. They are waterproof and weatherproof. Applied to wood, they form a chemical union with the wood's cellulose and lignin in addition to replacing the water in wood cells, so that when used in wood joining they create a bond which makes the so-called 'glue line' stronger than the natural wood itself. When plywood manufacturers discovered that, they developed a technique by which the glue (either phenol-formaldehyde or urea-formaldehyde) is forced through the entire texture of all the plies in a laminated sheet, and 'impregnated wood' is the specific name of the resultant product.

Compressed wood. Engineers similarly learned that wood density, and consequently strength, could be increased by subjecting raw wood to heavy pressure, applied perpendicularly to the grain. 'Compressed wood' is thus a new material.

Compreg. This is the new material, hard and strong as mild steel, more resistant to fire and acid than metal, from which, for example, the British prefer that military airplane propellers be made. Born in the United

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Norton's *Army Letters:* 'We buy condensed milk of the sutlers.' OED's 1865 'canned milk' seems to be pertinent. The first OED *condensed milk* citation is in 1871, from the *Food Journal.*

4. Technically, condensed milk is sweetened, usually with sucrose used as a preservative; evaporated milk is not. Before World War I the industry called evaporated milk 'evaporated cream'; for example, the Silver Cow brand of 'evaporated cream' manufactured at the Borden plant then operated at St. Charles, Ill. The Pure Food and Drug Administration stopped that usage. Standardized tests now distinguish condensed milk from evaporated milk, and both from other somewhat similar processed milk. The DAE does not list *evaporated milk.* OED, 1870, 'the Swiss and American preparations of evaporated milk,' does not seem to imply the present distinction between evaporated and condensed milk.

States, 'compreg' is the specific name of a new engineering stuff. Its origin is obvious. *Compreg* is wood which is both impregnated and compressed.

Plastic plywood. This is the material which has caused ecstatic headline writers to blazon 'plastic airplanes' across our newspapers. It is actually impregnated plywood which can be molded, for example under steam pressure, into seamless bathtubs, airplane bodies, tubing, and frameless boat hulls.

Aero. In a new use, not a trade name but a specific industrial and engineering term. This is any wood which is naturally light and strong and straightgrained and otherwise perfect enough to be used for structural members for such military planes as the British Mosquito bomber or the 'flying boxcars' developed by Curtiss for our services. Originally it was believed that only Sitka spruce could yield correct wood; during the last war such timber was not called *aero* but was only *aeroplane spruce.* This war has proved that several other American—but only American—softwood species, and at least one hardwood, yield lumber which similarly meets airplane engineering standards. *Aero,* to cover all such wood regardless of species, is the resultant general term. The additional softwoods presently included are Noble fir, Douglas fir, Port Orford cedar, and Western hemlock. The hardwood is Yellow poplar (commercial name of the tuliptree). The aero softwoods are native to and grow to aero quality only in the Pacific Northwest, including coastal British Columbia and Alaska as well as northern California, Oregon, and Washington; Yellow poplar grows from the Mississippi east. No tree of these species, however select, is wholly 'aero.' Experts saw 'flitches' of aero out of any good log of the six species; usually the aero recovered is a minor portion of the cut and the rest is used for more ordinary purposes. It is true that a number of Axis warplanes, notably the Japanese Zero, are built of wood, but the wood is not 'aero.' Early Zeros used a few shipments of Noble fir aero flitches sold from the West Coast several years ago. Japanese inability to obtain aero anywhere else is one of the reasons why Americans who have met the present Zero in combat say that, despite its speed and high maneuverability, it is built of 'spit and tissue paper,' and is unable to stand fire. On the other hand, Britain's aero-built Mosquito is reported to be more durable under fire than are all-metal bombers. The point is that *aero* is a specific engineering term.

Flitch. The specific use of this word, as noted above, appears to have escaped the dictionaries if it is not, in fact, quite new. The DAE defines a flitch of lumber as 'a relatively thin board or plank split or sawed from

a section of log,' or as 'a slab split from the side of a tree,' although the supporting citation would seem to describe, instead, rived planks. The OED defines a flitch of wood as 'a slice cut lengthways from the trunk of a tree, usually having the natural surface as one of the sides,' and supports that with an 1867 citation, 'outside cut or slab.' An ancestor of the use of *flitch* applied to aero may be found in the OED citation of 1873, 'in America lumber is . . . not cut into deals or flitches for transportation and then sawed again to sizes, as in Europe'; but in that instance *flitch* is used synonymously with *deal,* which the OED elaborately defines in a way which quite distinguishes it from the selectively sawed boards and blocks meeting rigid engineering specifications which the aero sawyer prepares for the airplane woodworker. None of the definitions in *Webster's* or *Funk & Wagnalls'* applies to an aero flitch. The *Century* ignores flitch (of lumber) as such, noting only 'flitch-beam—a beam made of two or more planks fastened together.'

Ureawood. Treated at certain temperatures with urea, an ammonia salt, wood can be bent like rubber, twisted like rope, or kneaded like dough. Cooled and set, this ureawood retains its new shape and is almost as hard as iron. The process and resultant new material were originated at the Forest Products Laboratory, Madison, Wisconsin, in 1940.

Trade names growing out of new wood uses, processing, and derivatives are ubiquitous, and similar in construction to other trade names. Examples include:

Firepel. Described by the Albi Chemical Corporation as 'an aqueous solution of fire retardant chemicals, designed for application by brush or spray to unfinished wood surfaces' in order to fireproof lumber.

Teco connector. Metal connectors—rings, plates, and grids, some with spikes or teeth—used to connect solid wood beams in such fashion that the maximum strength possible is attained at the joints. 'Teco' comes from 'Timber Engineering Company,' a research subsidiary of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association. The word seems to be developing a history similar to that of *kodak.* One finds it in the trade journals in such items as, 'The Timber Fabricating Corporation of Houston is building prefabricated teco-built wood trusses for all types of government building.'[5]

War-caused demand for forest products has aroused such fears in some

5. *Gulf Coast Lumberman,* Dec. 1, 1942.

quarters that our forest reserves will be exhausted, that the forest products industries invented in self-defense a term to dramatize their wood-growing activities as well as the war dramatizes forest drain. It is *tree farming,* 'the term applied to a systematic program of conservation and reforestation';[6] companion terms are *tree farm,*[7] *tree-farmed,* and *tree farmer.*

Journalistic writers have adopted these terms, applying them to any systematic silviculture, whether conducted on privately- or publicly-owned forestland, and whether the acreage is tree-farmed for timber production alone, or whether erosion control, provision of recreational areas, or silvicultural demonstration are included in the tree farmer's purpose. Such wide journalistic acceptance, by editorial writers[8] as well as news reporters,[9] headline writers,[10] and contrivers of magazine articles,[11] indicates that the terms, however born, have entered the general language to stay, with 'tree farm' the name of any block of forestland, from a farm woodlot on up, which is kept in what the U. S. Forest Service calls 'a reasonably productive condition.' Arkansas[12] and Alabama[13] certify such holdings after examination by foresters, and designate them officially as

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6. Quoted from 'Don't Spare That Tree,' an article in *Every Week Magazine,* Dec. 8, 1942.

7. The Seattle (Wash.) *Times,* editorializing in the summer of 1942 on 'Tree Farm Enterprise,' said: 'The tree farm is defined by lumbermen themselves as "an area dedicated to the growing of forest crops, protected and managed for continuous production." . . . It marks the end of the old virgin forest and its replacement by new timber grown as a crop.' The Seattle *Times* editorial came to this reporter from a clipping bureau. The date on the bureau's sticker was blurred beyond recognition. However, a paid-space announcement, headed 'Forest Conservation Policy of the National Lumber Manufacturers Association,' occupying the back page of the December, 1942, issue of *American Forests,* shows the origin of the word. It reads, in part: 'Permanent lumber and other forest-using industries are essential to the national welfare. We recognize the vital relation of forest conservation to the permanency of such industries and their employment. . . . Timber is a crop. When protected from fire, insects and disease, and managed for continuous production, a forest area is a TREE FARM. We invite all forest industry groups, including organizations and individuals, to join in furthering the continuous production of forest crops through the acceptance and registration of commercial TREE FARMS with the American Forest Products Industries.'

8. Birmingham (Ala.) *News,* April 6, 1942; Ft. Smith (Ark.) *American,* May 23, 1942; Pensacola (Fla.) *Journal,* July 15, 1942; *Journal of Forestry,* August, 1942, etc.

9. Greensboro (N.C.) *News,* Feb. 1, 1942; Painesville (Ohio) *Telegraph,* Feb. 26, 1942; Chattanooga (Tenn.) *Times,* April 20, 1942; Jamestown (N.Y.) *Post-Journal,* July 6, 1942, for instance.

10. Gadsden (Ala.) *Times,* March 22, 1942; *Nature,* August-September, 1942, etc.

11. Melvin Arnold in *Nation's Business,* January, 1942; Richard Tryon in *Alabama Conservationist,* April, 1942; William B. Greeley in the *American Legion Magazine,* October, 1942, etc.

12. *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), June 7, 1942.

13. Mobile (Ala.) *Press Register,* April 5, 1942.

'tree farms,' issuing signs which the owners post on their lands. A Duke University publication[14] includes the sentence: 'The Southern lumber industry consists of thousands of owners, each of whose forests potentially is as much a tree farm as is the Duke Forest.' Used thus to cover both private industrial and institutional laboratory forestry, *tree farm* is employed as a standard word, not distinguished by quotation marks or otherwise from ordinary literary use.

14. Duke University School of Forestry Lectures, Number 5, 'Facing the Forest Future,' by Dr. Wilson Compton, Durham, North Carolina, May, 1942.

WARTIME COINAGES

A *Helicab* is a flying automobile. *Business Week,* August 7, 1943, states that Mr. William B. Stout has designed for Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation 'a vertical lift, 125 hp., flying automobile carrying 2 to 5 persons, with 4-wheel landing gear and folding wings.'

A *Sea Mule* is a motor for a barge. A Chrysler advertisement shows a picture of a barge at work and states, 'Nicknamed "Sea Mule" by the Navy, this new power unit is built around a sturdy 8-cylinder Chrysler Royal Marine Engine. It can be bolted to a barge in a few minutes. . . . Originated and developed by Chrysler Division.'—*American Magazine,* November, 1943, p. 75.

A *Handie-talkie* is a portable two-way radio. 'Walkie Talkie, weighing about thirty pounds, has given rise to other units, one of which is the five-pound, eleven-ounce "transceiver" designed for paratroops and also used by infantry, which looks like a French telephone and is called *handie-talkie.*'—*Fortune,* October, 1943, p. 62.

'*Canol* is a coined word, an abbreviated linking of "Canada" and "oil." Born of military necessity, and pushed forward against almost insurmountable odds, by the teamwork of military and civilian authorities, the *Canol Project* is today ready to produce oil.'—*The Lamp* (published by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey), October, 1943, p. 3.

Britain, a leaflet published by the British Information Services, New York City, advertises (1943) *'Picdiagrams* dramatizing the changes war has brought, and charting progress in war and peace plans.'

THE ENGLISH OF 'AUFBAU'

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A STUDY of any copy of *Aufbau,* the English-German newspaper for refugees[1] published in New York, will reveal many striking aspects of interlingual influence. While *Aufbau* publishes articles in pure English side by side with articles in equally pure German, purity in either language is by no means characteristic. Except for such pure German matter as literary feuilletons and such pure English matter as a news release from a federal agency, to be able to read the paper one must actually possess a reading knowledge of both English and German, and the flexibility of a Montrealer in shifting instantly, sometimes in the very midst of a word, from one language to the other.

While the English of *Aufbau* is on the whole excellent, one can occasionally find German influence, as might be expected. Thus, Muni, after a 'pause' of two years, makes a comeback, and a woman baker is called a 'bakeress.' Like the diction, the idiom is also sometimes Germanic. A certain young man, for example, 'is already sergeant,' and from a sports column this passage has been culled: '. . . not so much that they'll win themselves more games as that they'll lose themselves less.' Verb forms are likewise Germanic, e.g., '. . . who since 1929 religiously pays six dollars a month,' and, 'Don't you come (Aren't you coming) to hear Harry?' Note also these uses of verbals: '. . . Corporation specialized in cigarette paper,' '. . . [certain refugee physicians allegedly] . . . grab good practices from leaving American doctors,' and '. . . we will help building a new world.'

Similarly, sentence-length, rhythm, structure, and word-order are at times more like German than English. A social group plans to meet 'on the Manhattan-bound trains platform,' and *Aufbau* announces an 'English Brushing-up Course.' Here are two extreme examples: '. . . he paints the portraits of—characteristically enough—society-women in his at present en vogue-manner or draws his lesser "sensational," lesser marketable nostalgic Renaissance-extravaganzas . . . ,' and, 'The two Spaniards, having at present one-man shows, stem artistically—although publicly acknowledged under the same denominator, namely as surrealists—from opposite corners of the art world.' For sentence length the most outstanding example occupied nineteen lines of a two-inch column!

A study of *Aufbau's* use of English words in German contexts reveals a number of interesting linguistic tendencies. Only sometimes are these

1. *Aufbau* uses the words 'refugee,' 'immigrant,' and 'emigre' pretty interchangeably.

words enclosed in quotation marks, and when the words are nouns, they are generally but not always capitalized. Natural gender, and the gender of German cognates, equivalent terms, and nouns of similar termination—these would seem to account for the gender assigned to many of the English words, and in the appended list I have placed some nouns according to these principles.

In numerous other instances, however, the reason for assigning a given gender is not too apparent. Why, for example, should 'Office of War Information' be feminine when written out and not feminine when abbreviated? And look at this passage: '. . . und interviewte ein Mädchen, einen swingfan (hepcat) . . .' The word 'swingfan,' though referring to *Mädchen,* is made masculine.

Here is a partial list of nouns and noun terms employed with inflected modifiers in German contexts. Where a word is followed by an asterisk, both the English word and its German cognate were found in *Aufbau.* Where it is followed by a question mark, the gender was equivocally either masculine or neuter, to judge from the context.[2]

GENDER OF ENGLISH NOUNS IN 'AUFBAU'

1. Feminine

Natural Gender: Queen.

Gender of Cognates: Agency, Army*, Bridge, Campaign*, Card*, Charter, Conference, Defense, Flag*, Group*, Hall*, League*, Militia, School*, Section, Society, N. Y. Sun, Union of Young Women of France, Show (theatrical), Street, Week.

Gender of Equivalent Terms: Agency, Area, Avenue, Canteen (Stage Door), Herald-Tribune, N. Y. Times (N. Y. Sun), Railway,[3] Torch, Town, Boom Town.

Gender of Termination: Action, Association, Cavalcade (Musikalische), Corporation, Demonstration, Exhibition, Immigration, Kitchenette, Naturalisation, Opposition, Patronage, Position, Region, Sensation, Situation.

Gender Unaccounted For: Bronx, Office of War Information, War, Yard.

2. Masculine

Natural Gender: Alien, Bandleader, Chairman, Champion?, Farmer, Filmproducer, Fur Operator, Goalie, Partner, Sponsor.

2. It is quite possible that I have made errors in gender or number and in assigning reasons for the choice of gender.

3. Note, however that *vom Broadway* is used, presumably after the cognate *Weg.*

Gender of Cognates: Appeal, Background, Broadway?, Bus, Choir, Clubroom?, Course, Dining Room?, Fund?, Penny, Room, Trick.

Gender of Equivalent Terms: Side Break, Lindy Hop, Time Shag, Swing Shag (all four terms being dances), Commandoraid?, Contest?, Council, Service, (Protective) Screen.

Gender Unaccounted For: Job, Swing Fan.

3. Neuter

Gender of Cognates: Alibi (excuse), Center, Clearing House?, College, Committee*, Chapter?, Department, Field, Newspaper, Stigma, Ministry, Orchestra?, White Paper?.

Gender of Equivalent Terms: Apartment, Baby, Closet, Couple, Law, Dinner, Game (sports), Storage?, Camp, Throng?, Studio, War Effort.

Gender of Nouns Derived Presumably from Verbs: Freezing, Meeting, Building.

Gender Unaccounted For: Appointment, Office, Statement, Team (sports), Wave (permanent).

4. Neuter or Masculine

Movement, O.W.I., Interview, Quiz (test).

It is interesting to speculate over the reasons for this employment of English words in essentially German contexts. In some instances, of course, the English term is a fairly equivalent cognate. Thus, Army, Flag, Committee, and Group are used almost interchangeably with their German relatives. Technical terms from sports and commerce are also often English. These one is bound to learn quickly or to have long known. Again, English words and phrases that are on everybody's lips—names of organizations, government agencies and functions, words dealing with lodging, travel, occupation and recreation, neologisms and other timely phrases, and, to be sure, English and American words common in Germany—such expressions are likely to appear in the German of refugees. In other cases, I should imagine that the abundance of English words and phrases springs from the desire of many refugees to become Americans even more quickly than the immigrants of yesteryear.

Here are some specimens of the employment of cognates: 'State Department' and 'Staatssekretär' in the same article; 'Amerikanischer Stil' and 'nach American Style' in adjoining 'ads'; 'English für Anfänger,' 'Jewish People's Institut,' 'Subways, Schulen, Parks,' 'Bedeutung Dieser Conference,' 'Orchester $1.65, Balcony 88¢,' 'mit License.'

One of the many anomalies to be found in *Aufbau* is the inconsistency of abbreviations. For example, note the date, 'Februar 8th, 1943' or the abbreviation, twice used on the same page, 'Subwaystat.' (subway station). Most of the anomalies under this head are to be found in advertisements, notably in the addresses. Thus we see '63rd St. u. Broadway,' '170. Str. 8th Ave. Linie,' 'Broadway Ecke 157th Street,' and '76th Street und . . .' Moreover, 'Zw. 94. u. 95. Str.' and '317 West 99th Street' appear in the identical 'ad.' The word 'East,' never 'Ost,' is often followed by something like '51. Str.' Indeed, in the identical puff are to be found '5. Avenue,' '5th Ave.,' '45. Str.,' '8th Ave.,' and '44. St.'

Plurals are another source of inconsistency. English plurals are often employed with German cognates, e.g., *Originals, Korsetts.* Indeed, *Korsetts* and *corsets* appear in adjoining 'ads'; *Korsette* does not appear at all. I have noted three forms of plurals for English words: uninflected (e.g., *Cent, Dollar*), English plurals (*Farms, Dollars, Cents, unsere Boys*), and plurals in *-en* (*Farmen*).

The German penchant for wedding words (as, for example, in *Strasseneisenbahnwagen*) is, of course, bound to crop up in the English of *Aufbau.* Expressions written in standard English as two words appear often as hyphenated or entirely single words. Thus we find *life-work, Crosstown-Bus, Commandoraid, Streetcar, Cluboffice, Soccergame, Groundfloor, Livingroom, Riverview, Elevatorapartment, Subwaystation, Expresstation* (note the loss of one *s* here), *Kitchenprivileges, Busstation,* and *Crossventilation.* A good many of these words appear in the classified 'ads.'

Another curiosity is the fact that the word *house* does not generally appear; the German cognate is employed, even in such mixed forms as 'Apartment- und Familienhäusern,' 'Boardinghäusern,' and 'Elevatorhaus.' There seems to be a consistency here, though its principles elude me.

The hybrid forms discussed under *house* are by no means the only ones to be found. One can harvest a good crop of hybrids. Some consist of English words with German prefixes and suffixes: *resettled* becomes *'resettelt,'* a female partner is a *Partnerin;* past definites are made by adding *-te.* Sometimes, too, whole English words are joined to whole German ones in accordance with the German genius. *Dipparbeit,* the work of a 'Chocolate Dipperin,' shows still another aspect of hybridization. Most of the hybrids, too, are to be found in the 'ads.' A partial list of hybrids follows:

'AUFBAU' HYBRIDS

Adjective Inflections: Bronxer, Hollywooder.

Verb Inflections: 'resettelt,' startete, investiere.

Feminine Inflections: Partnerin, Ehepartnerin (cf. Ehepartner), Chocolate Dipperin (für Dipparbeit).

English Prefix: Ex-Deutsche.

Plural Inflections: Farmen, Strudels, Korsetts.

Cognate Hybrids: Justiz-Department, Bungalow-Kolonies, Nurse-Schuhe, 'Parent Consent'-Karten, Real-Estate-Mann, Sommer-Beach, Welding- und Burningschule, Kitchenprivilegien, Leder-Novelties, Jitterbug-Furor, Swing-Musik, Krankenauto-Service, Draftfreier.

Miscellaneous Hybrids: Tommygewehr, Feiertags-Dinner, Zoot-suit-Burschen, Skunksmäntel, Citizenship-Vorbereitung, Ausländer-Boom, Breakfast Room-Einrichtungen, Canvas-Taschen.

SOME HYBRID FAMILIES

Clubhaus, Clubheim, Clubleitung, etc.

Bullion-Arbeit, Defense-Arbeiter, Wholesale-Arbeiter.

Uptown-Manhattan-Gebäude, Uptown-Annahme.

Farmen, Hühnerfarmen, Hühnerfarmer, Farmer-Ehepaar, Farm-Helfer, Farm-Maschinerie, Farm-Katalog, Geflügelfarm, Farm-Interessenten.

Riverblick, Hudsonblick, Broadwayblick, Riversideausblick.

Defensestadt, Defensearbeiter, Defense-Firma, Defensebetrieb.

3-Zimmer-Apartment, Apartment- und Familienhäusern, Boardinghäusern, Familienhaus, Elevatorhaus, Clubhaus.

Couchbetten, Doppel-Schlafcouchzimmer, Einzel-Studiozimmer, Doppelcouchzimmer, Front-Couchzimmer, Couchzimmer, Frontzimmer, Topfloorzimmer, Einselzimmer, Doppelfrontzimmer, Einzel-Frontzimmer, Front-Einzelzimmer, Einzel- und Doppel-Frontzimmer.

Riveraussicht, Parkaussicht, Hudsonaussicht, Park- und Hudsonaussicht. Subwayverbindungen, Subwaynähe, Busnähe, Subway- und Busnähe, Rivernähe.

Riverblick, Hudsonblick, Broadwayblick, Riversideausblick.

At times the language shifts suddenly from German to English and as suddenly back again. Thus we have such combinations as 'Elevatorhaus, Subway, Crosstown-Bus, Strassenbahn,' 'Kuchen und Cakes,' 'Mrs. Juliette Kay-Kronenberg, Radio Commentator, Lecturer und Sprachanalytikerin . . . ,' 'Top-Regisseure und writer,' 'Frühstück—Lunch und

Dinner,' 'Contractor with sewing machines for small leather goods, laufend in Quantitäten,' 'Erfahrener Stanzer mit etwas Praxis in Cutting sucht Essential Work,' 'sleep in oder out,' and 'Office Nurse intelligente junge Dame, evtl. auch verheiratet, in doctor's office gesucht.'

There are times, even, when the essential words are almost all English, and German words are retained only as a kind of connective tissue. 'Der "Aufbau" ist das "Home Town Paper," ' 'in die Foreign Legion der State Militia,' 'an der Teller Avenue in der Bronx,' 'Erstklassiger Fur Operator für Persian Paws,' 'einen Job in der Yard,' and 'Das Hiring Office für die Richmond Kaiser Yard' are representative.

SONG AND DANCE JARGON

'*Swingstress* of the nation Dinah Shore co-stars with Number I Jazz King as "Paul Whiteman Presents" his Sunday show. Many stars *guest* on the program.' Newspaper entry, August 29, 1943.

Scan-dolls of '43 was the title of an All-Girl Musical given in June, 1943, at the Playhouse, 550 North Clark Street, Chicago.

Swooner-crooner is a characterizing term in current use among journalists and humorists for the singer Frank Sinatra. It made its advent in late 1943. *Swoonatics* is another Sinatra word, 'Swoonatics jittered at Frank Sinatra's Hollywood Studium's concert.'—*Newsweek,* August 16, 1943, p. 80.

'Dance tonite to the *Swingsical* Music of "Snookum Russell" at King's Ballroom.'—Newspaper advertisement, September 2, 1943.

'Paula Kelly, *vocalovely,* who has been heard with the orchestras of Artie Shaw and Glenn Miller, is replacing Marian Hutton as a member of the Modernaires, famous vocal group.'—Newspaper item August 29, 1943.

Lewis Nichols, dramatic critic of the New York *Times,* wrote of 'My Dear Public': 'They label it a *revusical* story but new words cannot disguise old dullness.' *Revusical* probably antedates 'My Dear Public,' however. It has been used in film advertisements and is said to have appeared in the drama department feature of the *Evening Graphic.*

VOCABULARY FOR LAKES, DEEP SEAS, AND INLAND WATERS

OTIS FERGUSON

SAILORS everywhere have an old tradition and its natural attendant lexicon. There is, however, an especially jumping and particular appreciation of the racy in language among the seamen of our merchant marine. For one thing, they come from all over and from all kinds, to live a close common life in what is almost a new nation: a community to which the world inevitably becomes a body of ocean surrounded by waterfronts. They dream of the land and then never again find themselves easy upon it. For another thing, they are, practically by definition, the restless and the independent; their minds are not trained but their fancy is sharp; they have seen marvels and they will yell about them all day and all night and usually all together. There is no place noisier than a ship's messroom, and it is a fact that after five years or so at sea a man, in order to survive the din, has learned to get in faster and on a more strident pitch than any convention of carnival barkers. They are the most god-awful talkers in the world, and they have throats of brass.

Of the terms that follow, a certain number can be definitely ascribed to merchant sailors. A certain number have been brought in from other fields and either sharpened or made of more general application through particular use. And a certain number represent an intermingling of professions—as, say, that of the hobo or the floating crap-game artist or the construction-gang drifter, etc., with the man who works the ships; or the Navy sailor (his language is that of a service tradition, more set and less imaginative) with the merchant seaman he often becomes, after his time is up, thus bridging two usages.

Most sailors who have come through the lean times have bummed up and down the country. They are *mission stiffs* or *box-car sailors;* they will tell you in reminiscence that a chicken pilfered from some convenient roost is a *gump;* that a clothesline ripe for the taking is a *gooseberry bush;* that when they were young on the road someone threw them into awful confusion with the question, 'Are you a topping bum or do you bum lumps?' (*Toppings* are dessert, or any bakery stuff; a *lump* is anything in the way of food which you can promote from a back door and carry off in a newspaper or something.) The word *sit-down* is familiar, as meaning you make a back door and the good lady asks you in to sit down for something hot in the kitchen. Probably

nosedive, too, is well known; this applies to missions-cum-revivals, in which the candidate for a nice thick bowl of soup comes to Jesus ('I see your hand, brother; God bless you and come up front now') and confesses his horrible errors into sin ('Between 1932 and 1937 I took eight nosedives and once I come up with a whole suit of clothes practically new'). In Archangel one of our boys looked out the messroom porthole in speculation or perhaps mere reverie and remarked: 'You notice them lumber piles, how they got a cover over the top? That's good *floppings'* (or, where to spend an odd night).

There is some allusion in sailors' language to the use of drugs ('Is he in the smoke or does he use a needle?'), but the only term I think of which isn't in general use is *heesh* for hashish ('On the heesh you get a better drive'). *Gassed up, gas-hound, gheed up, rumdum,* and *goofed up* are cognate and self-explanatory. A man who acts up partly through liquor and partly through something defective in his parents is a *performer,* a *character,* a *squirrel,* or some kind of *ding-a-ling.* A *hoosier,* they will say, meaning any sort of farmerish chump; or a *muzzler,* meaning an obnoxious type; or an *Ay-rab,* meaning almost any dark-skinned cousin of less than minimum competence.

A woman who is neither your sister nor your mother is a *dingbat,* a *baloney,* or a *split-tail.* And a boy who presents himself to the uses of buggery is a *punk* (common) or a *brat* (more special). With a little reciprocity, he is only working it *changee-for-changee.*

A ship is a *workhouse* or a *rustpot;* she is *wrong* or *left-handed* or *hungry.* In the Navy she can be a *madhouse,* but in the merchant marine she can get as far as being a *squirrel-cage.* The hard work on her is *muling* or *bull-work.* Her steward is the *belly-robber,* her carpenter the *wood-butcher,* her bosun the *serang* (this is from the East, a direct loan). The galley stack is the *charlie noble.* The radioman, who lives right near it often, is the *Sparks.* The *black gang* is still the black gang (those in the engine room), a *bucko mate* still a bucko mate (a rough driver). And there are many other things of such older derivation: the *catwalks,* any high, narrow platforms, usually those over the engine and fire rooms; the *monkey bridge,* also in the engine room; the *grease monkey,* generally the wiper (lowest engine rating) but on occasion a fireman, oiler, etc. Any bridge or engine-room telegraph is a *chadburne,* whether made under the Chadburne patent or not. The midships structure is the *house;* but don't be caught dead wearing such phrases as 'mudhook' for anchor or 'pipe' for stack.

This sends us over into what is more the necessary terminology of

a profession than cant or slang. A *messenger,* for example, is perfectly termed (any light line easily carried but strong enough to bring home the heavy line which is to do the work; the one you see them throw to or from docks is a *heaving line,* not a messenger). Also exact is the term *man-helper* (a light stick to which can be fitted a paintbrush, for use in reaching odd corners). The *squealer* is a compass recorder, showing the distance off course achieved in steering through the watch. *Soogee* is generally any kind of washing, usually applying to the cleaning of paintwork. You *wing out a boom* (or *derrick,* as in the English usage), or you *top* it (from the fine old explicit noun, *topping-lift*). You *ease the wheel* when you bring the rudder back amidships; at the command 'Steady!' you *check her turn* by using opposite rudder; the phrase 'Steady as you go!' tells you to hold the ship exactly on the course she is on at the time until further notice. This is international, professional, but the slang term deriving from such circumstances is *steal the wheel,* i.e., to ease before the pilot says to, and to start checking her when he says 'Easy,' because you know the ship better than he does ('If I hadn't of stole the wheel on that muzzler up there we'd still be on a mud bar in the Delaware River').

A *sea lawyer,* a *focsle lawyer,* is a chap who is always arguing, complaining, justifying, and in general *beating his gums.* We have some great gum-beaters still, but under the order of union discipline we are holding them down better these days (the term is ancient and dishonorable). A *messroom navigator* is what you might expect, and so is the *floorplate convoy conference,* a term we found useful this last year. Someone can always run the ship and the strategy of the convoy better than they are actually being run, and his stridency and confidence increase with his distance from the bridge, the Commodore, and the actual conference held among Commodore and captains before making up convoy. The floorplates are in the bottom of the fire and engine rooms.

A *Standard Oil bosun* is a ship's worrier generally described as a man who will go to work with a chipping hammer in one hand and a scraper in the other. To *sea-gull* is to travel to your embarkation port by plane, but a *sea gull* is anyone of voracious appetite and grasping hand. The word *goof* is rather specialized in application, as a man who seems to wander around ineffectually in his dreams. There is usually a *ship's goof.* His name is lost somewhere in the articles: he is merely The Goof.

A *tarpaulin muster* is a shake-down of everybody's loose nickels and dimes, for the purpose of buying one last bottle, supplying a hospitalized man with smokes, or any other purpose in the common weal. *On whack*

means on rations, particularly the rations prescribed as minimum in the shipping articles, but *to whack up,* as on land, is to divide evenly and share. *Sea prices* is the term applied to the exorbitant surcharge you might expect a few sharks to hold out for, when the demand is immediate, the source of the supply remote. This term is not to be confused with *sea stores,* which are articles bought free of tax and middleman's profit, for use in ship's stores only on the high seas.

A *Liverpool kiss* is a kick in the chin; a *Liverpool clamp-down* (or *wash*) is a bath that extends down to the top of the trousers only. *Irish turkey* is stew. *Norwegian steam* is brute manpower, doing it the hard way, from the tradition of the fine sailing ships where there was no use of the principles of mechanics except for the block and tackle (pronounced 'taykle') or handy-billy (in the Navy, called a jigger). A *seawall sailor* is Joseph C. Lincoln or Lincoln Colcord or whoever you wish, so long as he is always talking ships and never on the water.

The *winkus* is an actual wink or any sotto voce tip to lay off of something, or that something is all right. The reproachful or supplicatory stare is the *dog-eye* or the *moose-eye* ('And here is this big Korean dog-eyeing me all the time').

Suction is variously used. It may mean the same as 'drag,' as in 'He made First Assistant because he's got suction with the company,' or it may mean a feint as in poker (stud), where a man is betting light or medium in an attempt to get you to bet heavy, and clean you.

Commands are very important but often obscure, unintentional cant, as can be seen from the uses of the word 'take.' *Take a strain,* or *take your weight,* is a command to the winch-driver; *take a turn* or *take a round turn* may mean to do anything as a safeguard, the literal meaning shading off into the metaphor. In particular, a *turn* is a safeguard, a check or snub in advance of the action, against a boom or cargo load *taking over* ('Get a turn on that preventer before that number-three takes over!'). *Preventer* is another of the incomprehensibles, and is applied quite soberly to any guy or stay which backs up the working rigging, in case of an emergency.

Many of these terms verge on the technical or are purely technical, but I include them anyhow for their vivid poetry of place or function, as I would the *travelling lizard,* the *sister hooks,* the *pelican hook,* and the *scramble net* (a new term in this war; it is an oversize cargo net hung over the side in times of imminent peril as an aid to getting down to water level without breaking your back). Or the word *dodger,* which designates a strip of canvas so rigged as to shield those who have to

stand on top from all of the wind except that at eye-level, where they keep their lookout.

When you say 'Take up!', you do not mean to direct a lifting of something. *To take up* is a term applying to the forcing of a nut, screw, or whatever to its farthest seating. *To take in the slack* is applied one way in technical language (to put no more strain on your line or wire than will bring it up to the point where the main strain is felt), another way in metaphor ('We're pulling our brains out on the falls, and I see this big phenomenon with all the muscle just standing back there and taking in the slack'). It means pretending to do work you are dodging. You *dog* something when you leave out, say, every other turn, or knot, or nail ('Over in Brooklyn they're dogging the streetlights now'). The phrase *whipping the dog,* as a euphemism for something else about the dog, is still widely popular as an indication of duty-shirking.

Labor-faker is no doubt common, as a term for the artful shrewd loafer. And *the Brains* for the officers amidships. But a *Port Arthur Tuxedo* for a set of khaki pants and shirt (Port Arthur in Texas is a big oil shipping station and many men are shipped and beached there) is specifically merchant marine, as is *B. A. beachcomber sandals* (white sneakers, $1.27; Buenos Aires). A *short-time towel* or *short-time shirt* is (respectively) a small towel or a shirt that won't stand another washing; while a *homeward-bounder* is any sloppy makeshift and is used as a legitimate apology for same ('We didn't have no time when I sewed up that boat cover, so the stitches I put in are just homeward-bounders'). Coming aboard *schooner-rig* is coming with not much besides a toothbrush and what you're standing in; and you still turn in *boots-and-saddles,* though the phrase probably antedates the Civil War.

The *mohoska* for the muscle, in work, is a pleasant term, though I doubt that its use is restricted to seamen ('All right, boys, get on that falls and give it a portion of the mohoska!'). A *wing-ding* is a particularly explosive fit of rage or frustration ('I'm telling you the mate will throw a wing-ding!'). There is less of frustration and more of directive purpose in the phrase *to blow your cork.*

To tie it off, in any connection, means to let it go at that, or to quit for the day. The original of the many variations on *topping off* may very well be the process of loading ship, where usually the bulk of the cargo is stowed and you go to another berth to top off with TNT, perishables, etc. ('What I'd like to see this old gravel-pit do now is top off with about two tons of export whiskey'). But *to piece off* is to apportion bribes or payment in some illicit venture ('The guy on the dock

is all right, I tell you; me and Red pieced him off'). In a different sense, *to piece off* can mean to provide small loans to various friends who are *on the beach* and broke, at the time when you have just *paid off* and are flush. *To pile off* is the general phrase for everybody getting to hell clear of that ship (after the pay-off), in a terrible hurry. Some of the more cautious brothers will be seen piling off when the Commissioner comes to sign us up on shipping articles for the North Atlantic. There is only one other phrase with *off,* used constantly in two ways. In the first, you would say of a man who has absented himself at the approach of some unpleasant job of work, 'Oh, he *fucked off.*' In the second, you would use it as an imperative, meaning get out of here, 'Go on, now, *fuck off!*'

A somewhat specialized term is *to dump* ('Let's dump that goddam steward; he is nothing but a *company stiff,* a *monkey-flag* man'). It means to beat the Jesus out of him, and a thorough dumping is something to keep out of your life. It is worse than the *silent treatment,* dealt out to the impossibly obnoxious among disrupters and what not. It is the old idea of ostracism, a word the boys wouldn't know or be caught with; but a process so effective in the monotony of ship's life as to make strong men weep.

Then there are the sayings taken from ship's work and disrespectfully twisted to other uses. A man in a bar who has two or more penniless friends sponging on him for drinks is said to be *carrying a tow line.* A beer-bottle opener is called a *sextant.* You *drop the boom* on somebody for a right or for a favor ('Who's going to drop the boom on the old man for that bottle of whiskey he's got stashed up in the safe?'; or, 'I really dropped the boom on him,' meaning, I let him have it, I told him off). The *Chain Locker* is often the nearest and dirtiest bar adjoining the docks, where the crew will gather in confidence and greasy dungarees. Possibly the nicest phrase of this type is *Take it to the winch* (i.e., bring the work to be done to the power that will handle or break it). It means either, Well, let's get on with it, or, Let's try it anyway and see what the hell happens. Another of the best, used especially in declining a drink or an extra job of work, is 'Not me, thanks; I'm *taking it on the slow bell.*'

Coffee is almost never referred to as *java, jo,* or *jamoke* on merchant ships, as it is in the Navy; possibly because coffee-time as a rightful and hard-won institution is almost sacred to merchant seamen. (The *hero of coffee-time* is one sarcastically elected as the loudest shouter in the messroom during that half-hour break.) Neither do the terms *lighthouse* for salt-shaker, *red-lead* for catsup, or *slum* for stew have a very wide favor. But *to scoff,* to eat (straight African kitchen-kaffir), came to us from

the ships and is still used upon them, generally with overtones of the humorous in the voracious ('That 20-foot python got loose up on the boat deck and he scoffed all them twelve prize hens. It killed him').

Slop chest, as the word for a ship's store of tobacco, candy, personal effects, and beer, meaning both the institution and the place itself, is so time-honored as hardly to be slang ('I ran a heavy slop-chest bill that run'). Back on the shore, there is still the practice of *free-loading,* general slang for drinking on friends or on the house. *Rolling* is also general, for going through a man's pockets when he is drunk; and from that the practice of *lush-rolling* and the noun *lush-roller.* I regret to report that these words are still necessary in the business.

You never take an examination, you *sit for your ticket* ('When are you going to sit for Third?'). You say of a mate, who is technically on watch at anchorage, that he is *sleeping on his ticket,* meaning that his position gives him the right, and since you haven't worked up to that position, knock off your grousing and stay awake. For the word responsibility, which is probably too long and unvernacular to use, there is a phrase. You say of the mate who is acting in some capacity for which he will be answerable, 'Well, he has *to talk for it,* doesn't he?'

You *peddle out* when you sell your gear for what it will bring in cash. Clothes and working apparel and odd personal effects are always collectively your *gear.* You would never hop uptown to get your suitcase; you'd have to go get your gear. The word usually means about everything in the world you own. *To swallow the anchor* started out as technical cant, legitimate; in its slang use it means to give up the ships and go ashore for good. It is a term severely restricted to optimists.

A trip is always a *run. Ride* is also used, as a verb cognate with 'sail on (a ship),' but not too conspicuously ('Did you ever ride tankers?'); and a trip around the world is *taking it around the bowl.* The *hot runs* nowadays may be through the coldest water, as in the runs to Archangel, the hottest in the world (the idea of course is danger and the frequency and determination of attack). A *hot ship,* on the other hand, is Navy usage mostly, and means a ship miserable to live on. *Submarine Alley* is the English Channel and the North Sea area directly above it. The Barents Sea, that graveyard of heavy ships, has been called *Suicide Lake* and the *dead-man's icebox.* In convoy the rear outside ship is always in *coffin corner* and strives to get out of it; all the ships bringing up the rear are in *coffin row* and *feel ice on their backs.* With the exception of *coffin corner,* these terms are too new and perhaps too consciously used to have lasting effect.

Getting *logged two-for-one* is merely an abbreviation of a practical

procedure, when it is written in the ship's log that for one day's malfeasance you shall be docked two days' pay. It can also be used as a more general promise ('I'll give it to him two-for-one'). *Short-sheeting* is a general term used in connection with practical joking of whatever character. To *smokestack* a person is to come it over him with assumption of authority ('But can you imagine that character smokestacking me?'). And to *have him up on charges* is to bring his case before the authorities. *Beef,* in the sense of grievance, is general, but *to ride a beef* is to prosecute it hard and steadily.

The words *crumb* for louse and *grayback* for a particularly virulent kind I suspect of having origins on the Road. Likewise *Sally* for Salvation Army, and (but this is a rare one to me) *razorback* for Protestant missionary. But *doghouse,* for any kind of Seamen's Home on shore, surely belongs to seamen. *Skidrow,* for the hot street of any waterfront, is at least 75 per cent sailor. *Scratch-house,* for a place where there are doubtful floppings and probably gals too, is more universal. But certainly we own *snakeranch.* A snakeranch also probably has girls, but can be any sort of down-at-the-heel place of assemblage where there are cigarette butts all over the floor, and sailors too, most of the time, and where the level of conversation and morals is not high. (In Russia, it was the custom to refer to the dormitory-houses of unmarried or widowed girl workers by asking, 'Which snakeranch was you in where they had vodka, not the one by the square which I was all through there last night?')

There are also traditional phrases and characterizations, some of them directly out of sailoring, some of them from way back somewhere in an obscure but lively countryside. A smart old quartermaster, being asked by his relief at the wheel how he is steering, may disconcert the devil out of any newcomer by answering straightfaced, 'Right between the anchors,' and pretending to walk away. Or one may say, 'This damn wind been blowing everywhere but straight up and down'; 'I'll pound lumps on him or he'll pound lumps on me, one'; 'I'll whang a knot on your head and then turn around and whang the knot off'; 'With a smile on his face like the wave on a slop jar'; 'He comes in with his eyes sticking out like doorknobs'; or 'like you could hang a topcoat up on them.' Of a man showing a hairy chest: 'Who shaved your back?'

There are traditional misuses along with usage. A certain type of craft is always a *coal-collier,* you always *leave out,* you carry an *indentification* card; and anything that is still a new gadget and mostly read about in the papers may turn up and remain as an *incenerenary* bomb. The coffee urn in the messroom is always likely, in all innocence, to be called the *urine.* A gantling is a *gauntlet.* The form *attackted* is invariable,

and likewise *confisticate.* And it's usually *'How much* cards you hold?' and 'But *how long of* a sling?'

As I said before, sailors get around a lot of places and they see a lot of things and do a lot of talking. But there is something more, there always has to be a lot more when particular usage is to be considered as more than mere recondite campus double-talk, the worn passwords of a secret and snob society. Slang to be good demands a nice appreciation of language, and a natural-born love of the picturesque and explosive in it. And slang is good among sailors; it lives and is never still.

FILMESE

'See two *Chillifying* Mysteries' was the recommendation in an advertisement of the films 'The Strangler' and 'The Raven,' October, 1943.

'Alexis Smith, What a dish! She is *super-delish*!' From an advertisement of 'Gentleman Jim,' starring Errol Flynn, August 7, 1943.

'Bing at his *singing-est,* Dottie at her *swinging-est.*' From an advertisement of 'Dixie,' starring Bing Crosby and Dorothy Lamour, September, 1943.

'Singable, *dance-able* hits.' From advertisement of 'The Sky's the Limit,' with Fred Astaire and Joan Leslie, in the *Saturday Evening Post,* August 7, 1943, p. 83.

'And "High Diddle Diddle" is plenty *plotty.* The main idea is that Dennis O'Keefe and Martha Scott, newlyweds, have only 48 hours for their honeymoon.'—'The Reel Dope' in *The Family Circle,* August 27, 1943.

'Hollywood was right on the job when it came to a term for Helen O'Hara, Bunny Waters, and Dorothy Ford, all over six feet tall. It just sat down and said *glamazon.* So that's it for king-sized beauties.'—Picture section of a newspaper of June 25, 1943. See also *Life,* September 20, 1943, p. 15: 'One part glamor, two parts amazon, they have been nicknamed *Glamazons,* are now in M-G-M's "As Thousands Cheer." . . . In their pompadours girls measure 6 feet 4 inches, an even 6 feet in their stockings.'

AN EARLY AMERICAN PLACE-NAME PUZZLE: 'HOERE(N)-KIL'

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TO THE STREAM they found flowing into the west side of Delaware Bay a short distance above Cape Henlopen the Dutch gave a name which appears in the records as *Hoeren-kil* (1640)[1] or *Hoere-kil* (1642).[2] Within twenty years after the arrival of the Dutch settlers in the Cape Henlopen area, curiosity about the derivation of this name was expressed in a document entitled *Vertoogh van Nieu-Neder-Land,* in a passage which is translated as follows: 'This place we call the Hoere-kil.

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1. See the reference, in Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware,* 1: 143, ftn., to a letter by Joost van Bogaert.

2. D. P. de Vries, *Korte Historiael . . .* , pp. 165, 178. (These journal-notes were not published until 1655.) From the time of De Vries on, *Hoere-kil* rather than *Hoeren-kil* became the prevailing form. See, for example, *The Representation of New Netherland* [*Vertoogh van Nieu-Neder-Land*], 1649 (1650), in *Narratives of New Netherland,* ed. J. F. Jameson, p. 313; the map entitled *Belgii Novi, Angliae Novae, et Partis Virginiae Novissima Delineatio,* c. 1650, facsimile in E. D. Fite and A. Freeman, *A Book of Old Maps,* p. 146; a letter from Jacob Alrichs to Stuyvesant, 1658, in *New York Colonial Manuscripts—Dutch,* vol. XVIII, p. 49 (photostat in University of Delaware Library); *Kort Verhael van Nieuw-Nederlant,* 1661 (1662), pp. 11 and 44 (the *-n* form appears on pp. 10-11); *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York,* ed. V. H. Paltsits, 2: 531 (1670); and *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts* (1679), ed. James and Jameson, p. 136. The Dutch also named the stream *Bloemaerts kil* (see the facsimile of a MS. map entitled *De Zuid-Baai in Nieuw-Nederland,* which faces p. 154 of the H. T. Colenbrander edition of De Vries, *Korte Historiael . . .* ['s Gravenhage, 1911]; and cf. the maps facing pp. 82 and 156 of Peter Lindeström, *Geographia Americae,* ed. Amandus Johnson [Philadelphia, 1925]), after Samuel Blommaert, one of the patroons of the colony. The usual Swedish form of *Hoere(n)-kil* was *Hornkill* (see Lindeström, *op. cit.,* p. 130; and cf. Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Settlements . . .* , 1: 171, ftn.). In Lindeström, *op. cit.,* p. 153, the form *Haert Kill* appears. The editor offers no explanation of the meaning of this form, but simply remarks that it is the 'same as Horn Kill, Hoerekill.' Further investigation is required. The general English name was at first *Whore* (*Whor, Hoar, Hoare, Hoor, Hoore, Hore*) *Kill(s), Whore kill(s), Whorekill(s)*; later this was changed to *Deale Creek,* and finally to *Lewes* (*Lewis*) *Creek.*

To return to the decade before 1642, it is perhaps worth recording that Peter Lawrrnsen, in a deposition dated March 24, 1684-85, tells of a journey to 'dellaware' in 1630, on his return from which, his vessel 'stopt at the hoorekill where the Deponent did alsoe see a settlement of a brick-house belonging to the west India Company' (*The Documentary History of New York,* ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, 3: 50). Lawrrnsen's stop at 'the hoorekill' antedates the arrival of De Vries in December, 1632, for by that time the house had been destroyed (De Vries, *op. cit.,* p. 100); and postdates the founding of the colony in 1631 (*Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS.,* ed. Van Laer, p. 241). The form *hoorekill,* although anglicized in this deposition and of no interest *per se,* is one of the two pieces of evidence now existing that the Dutch name reflected in *Hoere(n)-kil* was in use in the early 1630's. (The other one is mentioned below.)

From whence this name is derived we do not know.'[3] This curiosity called forth the following explanation (as found in a Dutch document of 1661 entitled *Kort Verhael van Nieuw-Nederlant*), in which the first element in the forms given above is accepted at its face value: 'Den naem van Hoeren-kill wert ons berecht gesprooten te zijn uit der Indianens miltheit voornementlijk daer ter plaetzen in 't mildelijk ten besten geven harer jonge Vrouwen of Dochteren aen onze Nederlanders aldaer.'[4] If the person responsible for this explanation had realized that there were, along the Atlantic coast, at least two other place-names containing the same first element, namely *Horen Hook*[5] in the Hudson and *Hoeren Eylant*[6] in the Connecticut, he might have been a little less ready to etymologize.

A more widely accepted explanation of the source of this early Dutch place-name is the one in which *Hoere(n)* is said to have been originally *Hoorn,* in honor of the Dutch explorer Cornelis Jacobsen Mey (or May)[7] of Hoorn in Holland. Several objections to this derivation have been offered by Amandus Johnson,[8] the chief one being that, with a number of good-sized streams available along the Delaware, it seems unlikely that an explorer, in order to honor the name of his city, would have chosen such an insignificant one as the kill in question.

No one so far has suggested that the first element of *Hoere(n)-kil* is a modification of the Dutch word *horn,*[9] 'space formed by an angle; corner, recess, nook'—but used here in the special topographical sense of 'a sheltering creek or bay';[10] yet there seems to be sound supporting evidence for such a suggestion. The worth, as a roadstead, of that section

3. The translation is from J. F. Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland,* p. 313. (The *Vertoogh* was written in 1649 and published in 1650. For these dates and for an opinion about the probable authorship see Jameson, *op. cit.,* p. 287 ff.) Cf. Joost Hartgers, *Beschrijvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt . . .* (1651), p. 38, for a similar statement (probably derivative; see J. R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York,* 1: 527, ftn.).

4. *Kort Verhael . . . ,* p. 11. This passage may be translated as follows: 'The name Hoeren-kill was reported to us to be the result of the liberality of the Indians who intentionally at this place volunteered with the greatest generosity their wives or daughters to our countrymen.' Cf. Garrett Van Sweeringen's deposition, dated 1684, in *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* 3: 342, or in *Maryland Archives* 5: 411.

5. See Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Settlements . . . ,* 1: 171, ftn., and cf. *Calendar of Historical MSS.—Dutch,* ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, p. 364 (the item for November 22, 1630).

6. See the map entitled *Belgii Novi, Angliae Novae . . . ,* c. 1650, to which reference is made in footnote 2 above.

7. Occasionally De Vries is named instead. Cf., for example, C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History: The Settlements,* 3: 292, ftn.

8. *Swedish Settlements . . . ,* 1: 171, ftn.

9. The Swedish equivalent is *hörn.*

10. M. de Vries and others, *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal,* 6: 1120.

of Delaware Bay at the mouth of the stream under discussion, lying as it does within the protection of Cape Henlopen, was clearly recognized by the Dutch; the authors of the *Vertoogh,* for example, describe the Hoere-kil as 'a certain creek, which might be taken for an ordinary river or stream, being navigable far up, and affording a beautiful roadstead for ships of all burdens. There is no other like it for safety and convenience. The main channel of navigation runs close by it.'[11] Proof that the Dutch had this topographical feature of the area in mind when they named it in the early 1630's is not to be found, however, in the Dutch documents themselves, but in the translation of the first element of the place-name which appears in a letter by an Englishman named Robert Evelin, the nephew of Captain Thomas Yong, in whose company he explored the Delaware in 1634. Evelin's description of the entrance to the bay is, in part, as follows: '. . . on that north [i.e., west] side about five miles within a port, or rode for any ships called the Nook. . . .'[12]

Although *hoern* as a variant of *horn* is not without precedent,[13] the appearance, at least as early as 1640, of *Hoeren-kil* instead of *Horn-kil* can perhaps best be explained as the result of a substitution of the more familiar *Hoeren* (sing. *Hoer(e)*[14])for the less familiar *Horn*—in other words, popular etymology.

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11. Jameson, *op. cit.,* p. 313. Cf. Hartgers, *op. cit.,* pp. 37-38, and *Kort Verhael . . . ,* p. 10. For a Swedish description see Lindeström, *op. cit.,* p. 154. It should be observed, perhaps, that the Dutch word *kil* does not necessarily mean 'creek'; the dictionary cited in the preceding footnote gives 'roadstead' (7: 2920) as one of its meanings.

12. First published in 1641 (cf. A. C. Myers, *Narratives of Early Pa., N.J., and Del.,* pp. 35-36); reprinted in Peter Force's *Tracts . . . ,* 1838, vol. 2, no. 7, p. 21 f.

13. See *Nomina Geographica Neerlandica,* 3: 141.

14. If, as the Peter Lawrrnsen evidence (cf. note 2 above) *may* indicate, the form without *-n* was in use in the early 1630's, it may well be explained as the result of a similar substitution, in this instance of the more familiar *Hoer(e)* for the less familiar *Hor* in *Hor-kil* (< *Horn-kil* by assimilation of *n*; or < *Horic-kil* by merging of the [k] sounds, *horic* being a derivative of *horn*). The *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (ed. Verwijs and Verdam), 3: 479, gives *hore* as a variant of *hoer(e).* For *horic,* see *ibid.,* 3: 596, 602.

THE SOURCE OF THE NAME 'OREGON'

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THE MEANING and ultimate origin of the name Oregon have always been mysteries, and Oregon has thus remained perhaps the chief *crux* among American place-names. Many fanciful etymologists have attempted derivations from languages as far scattered as Mohegan, Mohawk, Shoshone, Santee, French, and Spanish. For many years the name could not be traced farther back than Jonathan Carver's *Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America* (1778). At last T. C. Elliott discovered that the name appeared in the manuscripts of Major Robert Rogers, and could be found as 'Ouragon' as early as 1765 ('The Origin of the Name Oregon,' *Quart. of the Oreg. Hist. Soc.,* June, 1921, and 'Jonathan Carver's Source for the Name Oregon,' *ibid.,* March, 1922). Lewis A. McArthur, in his *Oregon Geographic Names* (1922), declared that Elliott had thus made the 'one important contribution . . . in the last hundred years.' In the same work (pp. 263-266) McArthur also gives an excellent summary of the whole question to date, and presents, without approving, many of the fanciful suggestions.

The name is ultimately derived, I believe, from a confusion arising from the 'Carte générale de Canada' of Lahontan's *Nouveaux voyages . . . dans l'Amérique Septentrionale.* This work exists in many varying editions, and I am thus unable to say just when the map first appeared, but it was certainly as early as 1709, and perhaps in 1703. This map is reproduced in Justin Winsor's *Cartier to Frontenac* (p. 352); his *Narrative and Critical History of America* contains a similar but much less accurate reproduction. In the English editions of Lahontan, however, the situation giving rise to the name was changed when the map was redrawn with English captions.

Anyone looking at this map of Lahontan's somewhat casually will see, near the left-hand edge, what appears to be 'R. de Ouaricon.' ('R.' here stands for 'Rivière.') A close inspection will show that following 'Ouaricon' are two small dots indicating a hyphen, and that below are written the letters 'sint.' (The last letter is somewhat doubtful, but its identification is not of importance to the present argument.) My own impression, however, was that here on the map was a river called Ouaricon; except for being particularly interested in place-names, I would probably not have corrected this impression. Anyone making only a casual examination of the map would quite readily carry away the

memory of a river called Ouaricon. This would be the easier because the map is full of obscure descriptive annotations, with which the four letters following the hyphen and written below might easily be confused.

From Ouaricon the modern name is readily derived through the intermediary forms actually preserved. We may list:

La Hontan	(1709)	Ouaricon
Rogers	(1765)	Ouragon
Rogers	(1766, 1772)	Ourigan
Carver	(1778)	Oregon

(In 1766 Rogers also once uses *Ourgan,* but this can probably be dismissed as a mere error.) The two forms used by Rogers are obviously about half-way between Ouaricon and Oregon. The chief difference between Ouaricon and all later forms is the shift of *c* to *g*. This may indicate some oral transmission, since the two consonants (differing only by voicing or the lack of it) are very easily confused in sound. In any case the difference between Roger's two (or three) spellings is enough to show that he himself was a bad speller and might easily have shifted *c* to *g*.

On the whole, however, I think it unlikely that Rogers himself is responsible for the confusion. More likely he had merely heard that on 'some old map' there was a river of that name flowing toward the west, and in some way this name had become connected in his mind with the often-told legend of 'The River of the West.'

Rogers once wrote: 'the River called by the Indians Ouragon.' Elliott has already cast doubt upon whether the river was actually so called by 'the Indians.' Moreover, the very vagueness of the wording arouses suspicion. Rogers knew a good deal about Indians, and must have known that the different tribes did not all speak the same language. If he had really been writing from personal knowledge, he would almost certainly have stated a particular tribe. 'Called by the Indians' is scarcely less vague than 'they say.'

The actual form Ouaricon is really sufficient evidence on which to rest the case. On the whole it would seem that the burden of proof should rest upon anyone trying to show that Ouaricon—Ouragon—Oregon is *not* the proper solution. On the other hand, it may also be pointed out that the river as presented on the map fulfills most of the conditions associated with the mysterious 'River of the West,' *viz.,* it is located well toward the west, flows toward the west, and is a route to salt water. The salt water thus reached would of course be the Gulf of Mexico, not the Pacific.

The origin of the name is fortunately explicable. Written without the hyphen, it becomes Ouriconsint, although the last letter is doubtful. The position of the river on the map makes certain that it is the Wisconsin, which was actually one of the chief French routes for passing from the Lakes to the Mississippi. (Carver himself followed that route, and Rogers mentions it in one of his petitions.) On most early French maps Wisconsin is written 'Ouisconsing.' From some such form as this the map-engraver produced a bad misspelling, either because he was working from an illegible or incorrect manuscript or because he himself was careless. The latter is perhaps more likely, because there are other misspellings which would have been unlikely on a manuscript, e.g., 'Missipipi,' and 'bbis' for 'bois.'

The origin of new names because of mistakes of map-reading is by no means unknown. Hood Canal, an arm of Puget Sound, was first written as Hood Channel, and altered by a map-maker. The most extreme case which I have noted is the derivation of the English name Young (in Dumas's *Un Gil Blas en Californie*) from the badly engraved French word 'Fourche,' with the aid of some lines indicating the windings of a river.

With this derivation from Ouaricon we arrive at the interesting conclusion that Oregon, like its sister-state Wisconsin, takes its name from the river by which Marquette and Joliet first reached the Mississippi, and which was thus in itself a 'River of the West.'

'THE GREAT HORN SPOON'

William Hardy Alexander in the *Journal* of the American Association of University Professors, April, 1943 ('Only a Professor,' p. 257), writes, '. . . and he says to a professor, mark you, "Do this or get out!" and by the *Great Horned Spoon,* he doeth it or getteth out, not falling under any one of the Four Freedoms.' Unless the *-ed* of *horned* is a typographical error, we have here a variant of the 'great horn spoon,' used by Lowell in the *Biglow Papers;* and it is the only example of the *horned* variant that has yet been brought forward. The expression is of undetermined origin. D. L. Chambers wrote of it in *American Speech,* August, 1928, p. 459, and Mamie Meredith in August, 1929, p. 499.

MR. BYINGTON'S BRIEF CASE (II)

'JUST AS LIVES'

IN THE introduction to the *Biglow Papers* Lowell gives an additional poem of Biglow's which contains the line 'Sez Joe, "I'd jest ez lives eat tripe." ' I do not know that linguists' attention has been drawn to this form *as lives* for *as lief;* but it was the only form of my childhood, and it must be what I say to this day if I use any form of *lief;* for I am sure it would be an awkward effort for me to drop the *s,* unvoice the *v,* and lengthen the vowel. But I think I now commonly say 'as soon.'

The explanation of *as lives,* I should guess, would be that *as lief as* was shortened by dropping the last vowel but retaining the voiced *s,* consequently voicing the *f* by assimilation, and shortening the *ie.* Then, when it had come to be felt that *lives* was the word and the only form of the word, those who felt that an *as* was required after it added the *as,* giving the form 'as lives as not,' as I used to hear it.

'STRAP (OF TANGERINES)'

A strap of tangerines is not a bunch or string, as stated in *American Speech,* October, 1943, p. 237, but an orange-box of half the standard depth. The reason for calling the shallow box a strap is explained by the statement in Fraser's *American Fruits,* p. 645, 'when shipping the half-box, two boxes are held together by straps.' These connecting straps may be of metal or of wood.

'L. C. L.'

The definition of *l. c. l.* as 'less than freight carload' in the Glossary of Railroad Terms (*American Speech,* October, 1943, p. 167) is all right for business purposes, but conveys the impression that it embodies the standard technical unabbreviated form of the phrase and that the second *l* stands for the second member of the compound *carload.* As I understand, 'l. c. l. freight' is 'freight in less than carload lots,' and the initials are those of the words *less, carload,* and *lots* (or, less often, the singular *lot*).

As a supplement to this Glossary of Railroad Terms, note Winifred Raushenbush's article in *Survey Graphic,* December, 1943, p. 500: 'It stipulated that only "promotable"—that is, white—men should be employed on locomotives with mechanical stokers or Diesel engines. This meant that Negro firemen on the good runs should be "rolled" (railway slang for displaced) by whites, irrespective of seniority.'

'SIXTEEN TO ONE'

The *DAE* definition of *sixteen to one* is unhistorical. This was once 'the ratio, exactly or approximately, between the market values of gold and silver respectively,' but not at the time when *sixteen to one* was a living part of American English. In American English, *sixteen to one* means the legal coinage ratio of gold and silver (the dollar being 412½ grains of silver, nine-tenths fine, or 25⅘10 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine), which was established by law in 1837 and remained until the beginning of F. D. Roosevelt's administration, at which latter date the public was so excited over other matters that nobody noticed that we were burying without ceremony the once famous 'sixteen to one.' During that period, the ratio between the market values was more than sixteen to one until the flood of California gold made it less than sixteen to one, a condition which lasted until the flood of Colorado silver made it again more than sixteen to one; it soon became and remained much more. In politics the phrase is associated with the movement for the free coinage of silver: the advocates of free coinage, desiring that their reform should have the effect of powerfully raising the price of silver, insisted that the proposed free coinage should not be at anything near the then existing ratio of market values, but should remain at the long-familiar legal ratio of sixteen to one. Thus throughout the time of the vitality of the phrase it was not only far from the market ratio, but was used in intentional antithesis to the market ratio or any approach to it. The merits of the proposition were hotly disputed; but both sides could and did agree that 'sixteen to one' and 'market ratio' were opposed to each other and represented opposite ideals. Not that there was any considerable sentiment in those days in favor of coinage at or near the market ratio; that would have been a compromise, and neither party wanted any compromise.

'BURDENSOME'

The *NED,* supplement volume, notes as an Americanism *burdensome* in the sense 'capable of carrying a good load,' with quotations from 1763 to 1835. It is not in the *DAE.* An additional quotation will be found in Cooper's *Water-Witch* (1830), Chapter 21, third or fourth page (according to edition) of the chapter: a ship of war is built for maximum speed and buoyancy, but in a commercial ship 'the desire of gain induces great sacrifices of these important objects, in order that the vessel may be burdensome.'

'SNAP,' FOR 'GINGERSNAP'

The *DAE* gives several meanings for *snap,* but fails to give it as short for *gingersnap.* This use is not only familiar in conversation and in the literary reproduction of conversation, but may be found in cookbooks, some of which print 'ginger snaps' with a space. This form of printing attests that the author (or possibly the printer) regarded *snap* as the noun and *ginger* as a modifier specifying what kind of snap, and insures that the reader shall take it the same way in his reading. For in the mind of the ordinary citizen the presence or absence of the space determines which combinations shall rank as single words and which as phrases of two or more words. *At all* is two words because it is printed with a space; *cannot* and (in America) *forever* are each one word because printed without space. A recent newspaper prints a receipt for 'chocolate snaps.'

'SISTER' AS A SYNONYM OF 'WOMAN'

The extent to which *sister* has become a synonym for *woman* seems to be attested in Mrs. Kingsley's column in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for December 12, 1942, where she uses *fellow-sister:* 'More than once I have been derided by my fellow-sisters for remarking that I always counted the masculine heads at any general gathering, as a sign of the virility of the cause.'

ON THE PLACEMENT OF CORRELATIVES

With Lillian Mermin's article on the Placement of Correlatives (*American Speech,* October, 1943) fresh in mind, one notes instances in the pamphlet 'Five Senators Report on the War,' recently circulated by the *United States News.* On page 15 Senator Brewster says, 'were consulted both as to the policies that were current and in contemplation as to the methods of handling the problems of both personnel and material.' I understand the intent to be 'both as to the current policies and as to those in contemplation.' And on page 26 Senator Chandler says, 'These decisions not only have a tremendous bearing on the present, but upon such just and correct decisions as are made will depend the lives of men not only here but in nearly every quarter of the globe.' These are extreme cases of what Miss Mermin discusses, and our senators would have done better to bind themselves by the textbook rule.

But, speaking of Miss Mermin's article, it is fallacious to treat *not only . . . but* as invariably a case of correlative conjunctions. Many of our conjunctions were originally adverbs. Some of these, like *though, however, yet, nevertheless,* have either passed absolutely into the class

of conjunctions or are fighting a mere rear-guard fight against that fate; but *not only* maintains a lively adverbial life, and its correlation with a following *but* is often of the same nature as the correlation in 'not white but gray,' in which *not* would hardly be rated as conjunctional. When *not only* precedes the verb (which means the auxiliary if there is an auxiliary) it is doubtless a conjunction, for the adverb *not* is obsolete in such placement; when it follows the verb and *but* introduces an element parallel to the element introduced by *not only,* its status as adverbial or conjunctional is ambiguous; when it follows the verb and the element introduced by *but* is not strictly parallel, *not only* is commonly adverbial, often necessarily so. And so it is when there is no *but.*

'DRY MOON' AND 'WET MOON'

I do not find in either the *NED* or the *DAE* the phrases 'dry moon' and 'wet moon,' designating the position of the crescent in the sky, regarded as a prognostic of the weather. Surely they must be generally familiar; at present they are frequently exemplified in the 'Editorial Points' of the *Boston Globe.*

My father's account was that the superstition originated from the Indians: when the Indian saw the new moon in such position that he could hang his powder-horn on it, he expected fair weather; when the horn could not be hung on the moon without sliding off, rain. I think a more familiar way of formulating the same belief is that if the saucer of the moon stands so that it will hold water, the water will not come down; but if it is so tipped as to let the water all spill out, then down comes the rain.

The belief has this much foundation in fact, that the most perfect dry moon, being very slender and very low in the sky, cannot be seen unless the sky is quite clear; if clouds prevent the new moon from being seen till it has had a day or days to grow stouter and rise higher in the sky, it tips up more and more as it gets farther away from the sun; and of course clouds favor rain.

The astronomical fact is that the new moon just after sunset will stand in the dry position near the spring equinox, in the wet position near the autumn equinox; the old moon just before sunrise reversely, wet in spring and dry in autumn. But I do not think the old moon is looked upon as a sign of the weather to come.

'SOUTHWIDE'

We are familiar with *worldwide, nation-wide,* and *state-wide.* Virginius Dabney has found a movement that reaches all over the South, and desig-

nates it in an article in the *Survey Graphic* for November, 1943, p. 443, as 'this southwide effort.' To avoid using the hyphen of *South-wide* he has sacrificed the capital letter of *South;* did the economy of the hyphen really pay for the loss of the capital?

'A STATISTIC'

The *NED* apparently suspects that the singular form 'a statistic' is a fiction of American dictionaries, not to be found in use. It is not rare enough to be unfamiliar in America, though not downright common. The latest example is in the *Survey Graphic* for October, 1943, p. 395: 'The simple statistic packs a wallop.' But this is by no means the first occurrence; it must have been possible to find examples early enough to bring it into the *DAE* if the editors had recognized it as American; and if it is so unknown in England as the *NED* implies, it should have been in the *DAE.*

'BERATE'

The *NED* notes that the verb *berate* has become obsolete in Britain but has survived in America. Then it would have been a candidate for admission to the *DAE;* but it is not there; and the *NED,* on its part, fails to note the correlative fact that the simple verb *rate* in this sense, which remains ordinary in Britain, has become obsolete in America. It would occur here only in bookish imitation of British literature, in a status substantially parallel to that of an archaism. The absence of a word in a dialect or language is as significant a fact as the occurrence of a word, but, for obvious reasons, is less likely to draw attention.

'CHOWDER'

Problem: How is it that *chowder,* being a French word, came into the English language by way of New England at a time when New England had no more dealings with the French than the Jews with the Samaritans?

Solution: The word makes its appearance in Boston in 1751. Nova Scotia (then including New Brunswick) was ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Thenceforth it received English settlers; these lived peaceably among the Acadians, who were not deported till 1755. It was natural that these settlers should pick up from their French neighbors a bit of French cookery with its name. And of course these Englishmen of Nova Scotia had friendly relations with New England.

The date 1751, however, suggests a connection with the New England expedition of 1745 against Louisburg. Yet this expedition does not seem to have spent enough time on any friendly Canadian soil to pick up

language there. Still a connection is not improbable, for we know that the expedition fed itself largely from the resources of the wild country. We hear of their hunting; but, being on an island, and many of them being professional fishermen, they must have done quite as well in fishing as in hunting. Under the conditions of an army camp, their fish could not have been cooked to better advantage than in chowders; and thus the dish and name, which at first were presumably known to a minority of New Englanders, would become favorably known to a large body of them.

'BLUE-STOCKING'

The meaning of the Australian word *wowser* is well known and undisputed. Mr. Baker's article in *American Speech* for December, 1943, more than once undertakes to explain this word by giving *blue-stocking* as the American equivalent; he quotes this equivalent from a booklet issued by the Australian-American Co-operation Movement. I know no other evidence that we have ever used *blue-stocking* in this sense. I suspect that the compilers of the booklet took advice from some American who supposed *blue-stocking* to have this meaning, and they quite pardonably but erroneously took this American's testimony as authority for the American use of the word. Or has this perverted application of the word really begun to come into use of late?

By the way, in my boyhood I read a farce printed for amateur performers, in which *blue-stocking* was understood as meaning a woman whose interest in literary culture, or in what she conceived to be such, so absorbed her that she did not notice how dingy she was letting her white stockings get. This, you understand, was at the date when all women's stockings were white, earlier than the time when they were all black. A belief as to etymology, regardless of its soundness or unsoundness, is relevant to the usage of words, since such a belief is likely to determine the way in which the word will be used by the holder of the belief. Decidedly it did so in that farce. But I regard this also as an individual usage, not the usage of a group.

'MILK GRAVY'

I feel sure that *milk gravy* is the American name of an American thing, whether the dictionaries know it or not. Most cook-books regard milk gravy as too elementary to give a receipt for, but *Everybody's Cook Book* has it, and the *National Cookbook* has the receipt for a special quality with some severe criticism of the usual article. The gastronomic map of the United States on the jacket of the *National Cookbook* delimits the Milk Gravy Belt as consisting of the Great Plains north of Texas; but

the inhabitants of that belt certainly brought the knowledge of milk gravy from the East, where it is not yet forgotten.

Milk gravy is a primitive type of white sauce. Normally it is the concomitant of fried pork. It should be explained that *fried pork* has a specific meaning in American speech; it does not mean whatever pork is fried. If you fry a pork chop, for instance, as is often done, it does not thereby become 'fried pork.' Fried pork is small thin slices of salt pork, according to Webster's definition of the specific sense of *salt pork* as 'consisting almost wholly of fat,' fried in a frying-pan crisp or not crisp according to local or personal taste. Take up the pork, pour off part of the abundant fat with which the pork has filled the pan, work up the rest of the fat with milk, flour, and seasoning into a gravy, and there is your milk gravy. The cook-books seem not to agree as to whether the flour should be allowed to brown at all in the fat; if it is not, then the receipt becomes downright indistinguishable from the receipt in the same cook-book for the simplest type of 'white sauce,' and it follows that any meat done up in white sauce, creamed chipped beef for instance, will in the eyes of the old-fashioned Yankee cook be done 'in milk gravy.'

Surely the name 'milk gravy' is as distinctively American as the dish is classic in the memory of anybody who remembers nineteenth-century farm cookery. I presume the specific sense of *salt pork* is also American, since I understand that producers of export pork have to meet a demand for a different quality.

SILENT SYLLABLES IN AMERICAN ENGLISH

Mr. C. K. Thomas notes that in downstate New York *comfortable* prevalently loses the *or* in pronunciation.

When in 1900 I filled the pulpit in Sherburne, Vt. (topographically just east of the divide, but having its principal communications with the west side) for the summer half-year, the hymn-book had a hymn with the line 'Comfortable words he speaketh,' which the tune required to be sung as four trochees. The people made the first trochee *comfta,* the second trochee *ble words,* and the third trochee *he,* singing the syllable to two notes as is done when a syllable has to take two notes of different pitch. I did not comment on the general pronunciation of the word, but after hearing this hymn sung several times I took occasion, in giving the hymn out at the prayer-meeting, to remark that in singing this particular hymn we ought to sing *com-for-ta-ble* to fill out the line. Thenceforth it was so done.

A parallel case comes in the northeastern Massachusetts town where I now live (I am now in the pew, not in the pulpit). Until we changed our

hymn-book, our choir of girls was very fond of a hymn with the line 'No angel visitant, no opening skies,' to be sung as five iambi. They always made out the five iambi as *No an-, gel vis-, tant, no-, o ope-, ning skies.* Since it cannot be supposed that *visitant* was such a common word in their lives as to have a habitual pronunciation for them, we must assume that they habitually pronounced *visitor* as *viztor,* but it did not strike my attention until it came out in the singing.

A gospel hymn has the line 'Consecrate every part,' to be sung as two dactyls and a stressed syllable. Obviously the hymn-writer intended the middle *e* of *every* to be a separate syllable. But not only is it universally sung with *e-ev-ry* as the second dactyl, but the hymn-books prescribe this, printing the word *ev'ry* and linking the notes so as to bring two notes on the initial *e*. Books of gospel hymns are often carelessly printed, but this explicit apostrophe must be taken as attesting the judgment of the editor of the book.

All these pronunciations, of course, are strictly analogous to *business,* in which dictionaries (British and American) make the *i* silent. Yet the *i* is not universally silent. Consider these verses by Harry Lyman Koopman, the recently deceased librarian of Brown University:

> When will all the world go right?
> Never!—Right is infinite.
> When will all the world go well?
> That is different; I will tell:
> When each man shall do no less
> Nor more than mind his business,
> And others would risk life and limb
> Who dared to interfere with him;—
> This whenever you shall see,
> The world will then wag merrily.

Obviously Koopman's poetry loses all form unless we allow *business* to be three syllables. On the other hand, he has presumably pronounced *different* as two syllables, though the lines can be well enough read with a three-syllable pronunciation. Koopman's social philosophy may seem antediluvian to some of our moderns, but his date is recent enough to let his pronunciation rank as contemporary.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON

Ballard Vale, Massachusetts

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION*

Herald Tribune Forum, November 16, 1943. The speakers are Mrs. Ogden Reid, chairman of the Forum, who was born in Appleton, Wisconsin, in 1882; Mr. James V. Forrestal, Under-Secretary of the Navy, born in Beacon, New York, in 1892; and Dr. William A. Neilson, President-Emeritus of Smith College, born in Doune, Scotland, in 1869.

Mrs. Reid: ɪt wəz ə'rɪdʒənəlɪ ə'na:unst| ðət ðə 'nɛksᵗ 'sʌbdʒɪkt ɒn 'aʊə 'prougræ:m| 'gʌvɚnmənt 'ni:dz fɚ 'tre:ɪnd 'pi:pəl| wəd bi 'kʌvəd baɪ ðə dɪs'tɪŋgwɪʃt 'fɔmə 'ʔʌndə 'sɛkrətərɪ əv 'steɪt| 'sʌmnə 'wɛ::lz| hu hæd ''mʌtʃ tə 'du wɪð ðə prɛpɚ'eɪʃn əv ˌrɛkəmɛn'deɪʃnz ðət wɚ ɪk'sɛptəd ɪn ðə 'maskau 'kãⁿfɚəns|| bət ði 'ʔɪlnɪs əv hɪz 'waɪf həz prə'vɛntəd hɪz 'kʌmɪŋ tə 'nju 'jɔ:ək|| 'fɔɚtʃənətlɪ ən 'ʔeɪbl sək'sɛsər ˈz ɪn hɪz 'pleɪs| ðə 'mæn hum 'mɪstə 'wɛlz hɪm'sɛlf dɪs'kraɪbd æz ''fɑ 'bɛrɚ ɪ'kwɪpt θru 'stʌdɪ əv ðə 'prɑbləm| ənd ''klousnɪs tu rɪ'sɜtʃ 'wɜ:k ɒn ðə 'sʌbdʒɪkt ət 'prɪnstən junɪ'vɜstɪ|| 'wʌn əv ðə ''hɑ:tnɪŋ 'fækts ɪn ə kn''fju:zd 'wɔʃɪŋtən| ɪz ɑ 'neɪvɪ dɪ'pɑ:ɨtmənts 'gud 'fɔɚtʃən ɪn 'hævɪŋ ðə 'sɜvəsəz əv 'mɪstə 'fɑrəstəl|| hɪz aʊt'stændɪŋ 'bɪznɪs ɪk'spɪɚrɪəns ənd ə'bɪlərɪ| geɪv 'ɔ:l ðət wəz 'nidəd fə 'wɪnɪŋ ðə 'bærəl əv pro'kjuɚmənᵗ nd prə'dʌkʃən|| hi 'siz ðət 'kãⁿtraɨkts 'muv 'fæ:sᵗ| ðət 'skɛdʒuəlz ɚ 'mɛt| nd mə'tɪɚɪəlz ɚ 'rɛdɪ| ʍɛn 'nidɪd|| pɚ'hæps hi 'lɜnd ''sʌmθɪŋ ə'baʊt 'mitɪŋ 'deɪt 'laɪnz ɪn ɪz 'fɜst 'dʒɒb əz ə 'nuˌ'peɪpɚ rɪ'pɔɚtɚ||

ðə 'neɪvɪ 'prougræm ðɪs 'jɪɚ 'kɔlz fɚ 'dʌblɪŋ ðə 'naɪm'tin 'fɔɚɾɪ 'tu 'tʌnɪdʒ əv 'kãmbæt 'ʃɪps ən 'mɔɚ ðən 'dʌblɪŋ| ðə 'neɪvl 'ʔɛɚkræft prə'dʌkʃn|| ðə 'fɪgjuɚz wɪl bɪ 'ri:tʃt| 'θæŋks tə ðə 'bɪznɪs 'mæn huz 'meɪd ə 'straɪkɪŋ sək'sɛs əv ðə 'bɪznɪs 'saɪd əv ðə 'neɪvɪ| ænd hi wɪl həv ''ʃɔɚtənd ðə 'deɪz əv ðə 'wɔə|| wi ɚ ɪ'spɛʃəlɪ 'ʔɑnɚd ɪn 'hævɪŋ ɒn ɑɚ 'prougræm| ðə ''fɜst| 'ʔʌndə'sɛkrətrɪ əv ðə 'ne:ɪvɪ| ðət 'ðɪs 'kʌntrɪ həz 'ɛvɚ 'hæ:əd| æn ɪk'zɛkjuɾɪv hu 'sɛz 'lɪtəl ən ə'kamplɪʃɪz 'mʌtʃ|| 'dʒeɪmz 'bi 'fɒrɪstəl||

Mr. Forrestal: . . . ʍʌt aɪ bᵊ'liv wi ɚ 'nãũ rə'kwaˈɚd tə 'du ɪz tu 'teɪk ðə 'nɛksᵗ 'stɛp 'fɔɚwɚd| æn kri'eɪt ə 'grup əv əd'mɪnəstreɪtɪv 'sɪvəl 'sɜvənts| huz 'aʊt'stændɪŋ 'mɛmbɚz| wʊd rə'siv| pə'zɪʃn ən ˌrɛkɪg'nɪʃn| 'sɪməlɚ tə 'ðæt| əv ðə 'haɪɚ 'ʔɛʃəlanz əv ðə 'brɪtɪʃ 'sɪvl 'lɪsᵗ|| ðɛɚ ɑɚ 'ʔɑbvɪəs əb'dʒɛkʃnz|| ðɛɚ ɪz ə 'dẽĩndʒɚ ðət ðə 'plãn wʊd 'kriət ə 'klæs əv 'pɜmənənt 'sɜvənts əv 'gʌvɚnmənt| hu ɪn 'du 'koɚs wʊd bi'kʌm ðə kə'roudəd ənd 'mʌstɪ 'mɛmbɚz əv ə bju'rɑkrəsɪ|| ðət ðə 'plæn hæz ɪn ɪt ðə 'dʒɜmz əv ə 'rulɪŋ 'klæs 'snɑbɚɪ| 'ʔeɪljən tu 'ɔl əv 'ɑɚ pə'lɪtəkəl|

* This transcription was made from a phonograph recording of parts of a radio broadcast.

trə'dɪʃnz|| ðət ət 'maɪt 'mit 'vaɪələnt ˌɑpə'zɪʃən ɪn 'kɑ̃ŋgrəs|| aɪ bᵊ'liv 'ðiz əb'dʒɛkʃnz 'kæ̃ⁿ bɪ 'mɛt||

'fɝst ənd 'fɔɝmoust ɪz ðə kə'ɝoudɪŋ ɪ'fɛkt| əv kən'tɪnjuəs 'gʌvɝmənt 'sɝvəs|| 'ðæt ˌkɑ̃ⁿtə'nuətɪ| ʍɪtʃ 'simz tu 'mi də'zaᴵɝəbl| 'maɪt bɪ'kʌm| 'tʃɑɝdʒd wɪð ði ˀ'ætrəfɪ əv ə'rɪdʒənəl 'θɔt| ðət wi əv kʌm tu ə'souʃɪeɪt| wɪð bjuɝ'rɑkrəsɪ|| 'θri 'rɛmɪdɪz aɪ sə'dʒest fɝ 'ðɪs 'dẽĩndʒɝ|| 'fɝst ðət ðə 'ræŋks əv 'sʌtʃ ə 'sɝvəs| ʃəd bi 'fɪld pri'saɪslɪ əz ɑɝ ðə 'mɪlətɛɝɪ ənd 'neɪvl ə'kædəmɪz| baɪ kəm'pɛtətɪv sə'lɛkʃn ɔ̃n ðə 'beɪsəs əv 'kɛɝrəktɝ ənd ə'bɪlətɪ|| ðət 'ðɪs sə'lɛkʃn| ʃud 'ɛᵐfəsaɪz 'brɛdθ əv 'nɑlɪdʒ| əz wɛl əz 'tɛknəkl ˀ'æptətud|| ðət 'sʌtʃ 'mɛn ʃud bi 'sɪtəzənz əv ðə 'wɝld əz wɛl əz ˀ'ɛkspɝts ɪn 'wɒʃɪŋtən|| ðət ðeɪ ʃud bɪ sə'lɛktəd əz ɑɝ ðə 'kændədeɪts fɝ ə'næpələs ənd 'wɛst 'pɔɪnt| ɔ̃n eɪ ˌdʒɪə'græfəkl 'beɪsəs|| 'ðæt 'ɪz| ə 'gɪvn 'nʌmbɝ frəm 'itʃ 'steɪt| sou əz tu ɪm'ʃuɝ| eɪ 'trulɪ 'næʃənl 'rɛprɪzɛn'teɪʃn ɪn 'sʌtʃ ə 'sɝvəs||

aɪ ʃud 'teɪk ə'nʌðɝ 'lid frəm ðɪ 'ɑɝmɪ nd 'neɪvɪ 'bük| ən pɝ'vaɪd fɝ ˌpɪɝɪ'ɑdɪk ri'vju| əv ðə 'mɛmbɝz əv 'ðɪs əd'mɪnəsˌtreɪtɪv 'stæf|| 'wʌn əv ðə 'greɪt 'dẽĩndʒɝ ɪn ðə 'sɪvəl 'sɝvəs 'sɪstəm ˀ'ɑᵇvɪəslɪ 'ɪz| ðət ɪt 'kæn bi'kʌm 'klɑgd ɪn ɪts 'louɝ 'lɛvlz| baɪ ə 'grup əv 'midɪ'okɝ 'pipl| ˀ'ʌnfɪt fɝ 'fɝðɝ əd'væ̃ⁿsmənt| bət 'nɑt 'kwaɪt 'bæd i'nʌf tə bi dəs'tʃɑɝdʒd|| ɪn 'ɔɝdɝ tə 'kip ˀ'ɔl 'mɛmbɝz əv ðə 'sɪvl 'sɝvəs| ə'lɝt ənd 'wɝkɪŋ ət ðɛɝ 'fʊl kə'pæsətɪ ðeɪ ʃud bi ɔ̃ⁿ 'noutəs ðət ðeɪ wɪl bi rə'taᴵɝd| ɪf ju 'wɪl ɔn 'mɑdɝət rə'taᴵɝmənt 'peɪ 'dʒʌst əz 'ɑɝ 'ɑɝmɪ ən 'neɪvɪ 'ɔfəsɝz hu 'feɪl tu 'mit| ðə 'hɑɪ nd 'rɪdʒəd 'stændɝdz əv 'ðouz 'sɝvəsəz||

'θɝd aɪ sə'dʒɛst ðət tə bi 'ɛlədʒəbl| fɝ ðə 'haɪəst pə'zɪʃənz ɪn 'ðæt 'sɪstəm| 'mɛn ʃud əv 'hæd tə 'spend ə 'pɪɝɪəd əv pɝ'hæps 'tu 'jɪɝz ɪn 'sʌm ək'tɪvətɪ ˀ'ʌðɝ ðæn 'gʌvɝmənt|| ɪn 'ɔɝdɝ tə pri'vɛnt əd'mɪnəs'treɪtɝz əv ðə 'taɪp aɪ həv ɪn 'mɑ̃ĩnd frəm bɪ'kʌmɪŋ ðə fæs'tɪdɪəs ˀ'ɑkjupənts əv ən ˀ'aɪvɝrɪ 'tauɝ| aɪ sə'dʒɛst ðeɪ bɪ ri'kwaᴵɝd| tu ɪk'spouz ðəm'sɛlvz tu ðə vəl'gæɝətɪz əv 'bɪznəs|| ði ˀɪn'ɛksɝəbl 'lɑɟdʒɪk əv ðə 'prɑfət 'lɔˢ 'steɪtmənt ənd ɪts 'kɔɝəˌleɪɝɪ ðɪ ə'bɪlətɪ tu 'mɝtʃəndaɪz| wʊd bi ə 'sɑ̃ũnd 'bæk'grɑ̃ũnd fɔɝ 'ðouz 'dʒɑbz||

aɪ 'rɪᵊlaᴵz ðət 'ðiz ɑɝ 'ould 'klɪʃeɪz| ðə 'klɪʃeɪz əv 'mitɪŋ ðə 'peɪroul| ənd əᵛ rə'poɝtɪŋ tə ðə 'stɑk'houldɝz|| bət 'sʌtʃ ɪk'spɪɝɪənts aɪ 'θɪŋk wʊd bi ə 'hɛlθɪ kɝ'rɛktɪv| fɝ ði 'ouvɝ ˀ'ɛᵐfəsəs ə'pɔ̃n æb'strækʃənl 'θiɝɪ| ʍɪtʃ 'maɪt bi ðə 'prɑdʌkt əv 'pjuɝlɪ ˌækə'dɛmɪk| 'gʌvɝmənt| 'treɪnɪŋ|| ˀ'æz tu əb'dʒɛkʃnz baɪ 'kɑ̃ŋgrɛs aɪ sə'dʒɛst ðət 'kɑ̃ŋgrɛs ɪt'sɛlf 'nidz ənd 'wɔnts ə 'sɪməlɝ 'koɝ əv 'ɛkspɝts ɪn 'gʌvɝmənt|| . . .

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Dr. Neilson:[1] . . . ɪk'stɛnʃn əv 'hɪstrɪ ən dʒɪ'ɒgrəfɪ| wɪ mʌst rᴵ'mɛmbɝ

1. [z] and [dʒ], when final in a sense group, are unvoiced, and are produced with strong pressure of breath.

ðət ˈðiz ˈstʌdɪz| ɑ ˈnoʊ ˈlɔŋgə ðə rɪˈmoʊt nd dɪˈtætʃt| ˈmʌsɪz əv ɪnfəˈmeɪʃn ðeɪ ˈwʌns ˈsimd|| ðə ˈbrʌðəz əv ðə ˈgɜlz wi ə ˈspikɪŋ ʌv| ən ˈmenɪ əv ðə ˈgɜlz ðəmˈsɛlvz| ə ˈskætəd ˈoʊvə ðə ˈsɛvn ˈsiz nd ˈɔl ðə ˈkɒntənəʊts|| nd ðət ði ˌʌndəˈstændɪŋ əv ðə ˈwɔːɹ ənd əv ðə ˈpis| ɪz ˈpleɪsɪŋ əpən ɛdjʊˈkeɪʃn ə trɪˈmendəs ˈloʊd əv rɪˌspɒnsᵘˈbɪlɪtɪ|| ɪt ɪs ˈɔlsoʊ səˈplaɪɪŋ| ˈnju ɪnˈsɛntɪvz| nd ˈnju ˈpɔɪnts əv ˈɪntrɪst|| ɪn ˈðɪs rɪˈspɛkt ˈɔlsoʊ| wi ər ˈɒfəd ə juˈnik ɒpəˈtjunətɪ||

pɹˈhæps æz ɪmˈpɒtənt əz ðə ˈkoəs əv ˈstʌdɪ| ɪz ðə ˈjus əv ˈliʒʌ|| ðə vəˈkeɪʃnz frɒm ˈskul nd ˈkɒlɪdʒ| ˈhæv ɪn ðə ˈpɑst| bin ˈlɑdʒlɪ ˈweɪstɪd|| frəm maɪ ˈoʊn ɪksˈpiərɪəns aɪ ʃəd ˈseɪ| ðət ðə ˈstjudənts hu həv hæd tu ˈʔɜn| ˈdjʊrɪŋ ðə ˈlɔŋ vəˈkeɪʃn| həv ˈbrɔt bæɹk tə ðə ˈstʌdɪz ɪn ðə ˈfɔl| ˈmʌtʃ ˈmoʊɹə ðən ˈðoʊz hu həv bin ˈkɪlɪŋ ˈtɑɪm| ɪn ðə ˈmɑʊntənz ɔɹ ɒn ðə ˈbitʃɪz|| wi æv tə knˈsɪdə ðə ˌpɒsᵉˈbɪlətɪ əv ˈfɪlɪŋ ðə vəˈkeɪʃnz| wɪð əkˈtɪvətɪz sʌtʃ əz ðə ˈwɔɹ| ɪz ˈtitʃɪŋ ʌs tu ˈvælju| wɪˈðɑʊt əˈbɒlɪʃɪŋ ði ɒpəˈtjunətɪ fɔɹ rɪˈfrɛʃmənt||

ˈsʌmθɪŋ moə ˈdrɑstɪk ðən ˈðiz səgˈdʒɛstʃnz| me ˈnid tə bi knˈsɪdəd|| ðə ˈdɪfɪkəltɪ aɪ həv rɪˈfəd tu| hæɹz krɪˈeɪtɪd ə dəˈfitɪŋ əv ðə ˈjʌŋ bɪˈfoə ðe ɑ ˈhʌŋgrɪ| həz ˈɒfən ˈled tə prəˈpoʊzlz fər ə ˈjɪəz ˈʔɪntəvəl əv ˈæktɪv ˈʃɛərɪŋ ɪn ðə ˈwɜkɪŋ ˈlaɪf əv ðə kəmˈjunɪtɪ| seɪ bəˈtwin ˈskul nd ˈkɒlɪdʒ|| ðə ˈleɪbə ˈjɪə| ʍɪtʃ həz bin ˈtraɪd ɪn ˈsɛvrəl ˈjʊrəˈpiən ˈkʌntrɪz| æz ɪn ˈswɪtzələnd| nd ɪn ˈdʒɜmənɪ| ˈjɪəz bɪˈfoə ðɪ ˈæɹdvent əv ˈhɪtlə| həz bin ˈmɛnt| ˈnɒt ˈmɪəlɪ tə ɪkˈstrækt frəm ˈʔeɪˈtin ˈjɪr ˈoʊldz| ə kɒntrəˈbjuʃn| tə ðə prəˈdʌkʃn əv ðə ˈneɪʃən| bət tu ɪkˈstɛnd ðɛɾ hɒˈraɪzənz ɪn ˈɛɹvrɪ dəˈrɛkʃn| baɪ ˈbrɪŋɪŋ ðɛm ɪntu ˈkɒntækt| wɪð ˈʔʌðər ˈsoʊʃl nd ˈikᵉnɒmɪk ˈstreɪtə| baɪ ˈlɛtɪŋ ðɛə ˈbɒdɪz ˈʃɛə ðɜr ɛdjʊˈkeɪʃən əv ðɜ ˈmaɪndz|| nd baɪ ˈlidɪŋ ðɛm tə ˈfil ðəmˈsɛlvz ə ˈlɪvɪŋ ˈpɑt| əv ðɪ ɪˈkɒnəmɪ əv ˈðɛr ˈkʌntrɪ||

ði ɪmpəˈzɪʃən əv ˈsʌtʃ ə ˈjiʌ baɪ ˈgʌvənmənt kəmˈpʌlʃn| ɪz ɪn ˈmɛnɪ ˈweɪz rɪˈpɛlənt| tu ˈaʊə dɪˈmɑnd fər ˌɪndɪˈvɪdjʊəl ˈfridəm|| ɪt ˈmaɪt bɪ ˈpɒsəbl tu ɪkˈstrækt frəm ðɪ ɪkˈspirɪənz əv ˈðoʊz ˈkʌntrɪz| ʍɪtʃ həv ˈtraɪd ɪt| ˈɛləmənts ʍɪtʃ ˈmaɪt bɪ əˈdæptɪd| tu ə ˈvɒləntəɪ ˈsɪstɪm|| . . .

This transcription was prepared with the assistance of the following graduate students in Teachers College, Columbia University: Blanche Davis, Roland Humphrey, and Virginia Holder.

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

PRONOUNCING DICTIONARIES

WITH corrections and additions Dr. Jones's book,[1] first published in 1917, firmly establishes itself as a standard work. Here one may find in simple phonetic notation a language that the speakers of Public School English would accept as fairly representing what they try to do. Though this type of English has its critics (a Scottish member denounced it in Parliament only the other day as made up of 'irritating and fluctuating noises'), it enjoys enormous prestige and, in the sense that it is something that some people at least strive to approach, it is the nearest thing to a standard that we have.

Now Drs. Kenyon and Knott undertake the more complicated task of doing the same thing for English as spoken in America.[2] What they have accomplished is deserving of all praise—the first systematic attempt, though they can't quite bring themselves to say it, to set down English as it actually is spoken in America in its Eastern, Southern, and Northern varieties, the last a not less unsatisfactory name than General American. Their impatiently awaited work becomes at once a landmark, guiding and controlling all future investigation, opinion and practice.

It is scarcely possible to criticize books of this sort or even to read them through. One dips in, and at once is borne furiously in all directions, pursuing his own lively thoughts, admiring, grateful, and occasionally wondering.

The present reviewer is grateful to Dr. Jones for *Hurstmonceux, Northanger, Scone,* and *Strabolgi.* He wonders a little that *Campbell* ['kæmbl] and *vaudeville* ['voudəvi(:)l] are the only pronunciations given; Kenyon-Knott do better with these and also with *Betelgeuse.* Both books adopt the pleasant practice of including the names of living scholars: *Owst* ([ost]?) and *Vinaver* ([-'nɑ-]) would have been welcome.

Again the present reviewer (let each man make his own list) is grateful to Kenyon and Knott for *Natchitoches, Seul Choix,* and *Youghiogheny.* Over and over (as in *Arundel, Beaufort, delegate, government, Lead, Newark, Staunton, Taunton,* to name only a few) they hit the nail square on the head. They are to be praised for putting in the English pronun-

1. *An English Pronouncing Dictionary.* Fifth edition. By Daniel Jones. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1943. xxviii, 496 pp.

2. *A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English.* By John Samuel Kenyon and Thomas Albert Knott. Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Company, [1944]. lii, 484 pp.

ciation of current Latin phrases, a matter concerning which a generation hardly now to be called young is hopelessly at sea.

No doubt the two American scholars were sometimes puzzled to decide how much recognition to give to a less desirable but still common pronunciation and would not themselves claim to have achieved perfect consistency. Probably very few Americans stress the first syllable of *Fatima,* but that is the only form given. *Tsushíma,* neither better nor worse than *Fatíma,* however, gets first place. *Kalevala* is given only with the stress on penult and undoubtedly that is what most Americans would say if confronted with it, but surely almost all of those who have occasion ever to utter the word stress the first syllable. For *Nahant* there is only [nəˈhænt]; if it were possible to count the number of times the word is actually uttered, [ɑ] would overwhelmingly prevail. The student of the future, gratefully scanning these pages, might conclude that there was no American pronunciation for *Champs Elysées, Chopin, Joffre* and others, and that *Calcutta* [kælˈkʌtə] was pronounced exactly alike by both English and Americans. He might infer that *Thames* was more prevailingly [θemz] in American than is actually the case. But such a student in the future, even less a student now, will not be much troubled by these small matters. He will rejoice that in these two books he has an ample body of the truth, of a sort that earlier ages unfortunately do not furnish us.

HARRY MORGAN AYRES

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'THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS'

THE PRESENT collection of essays[1] may be rightly considered the first serious attempt at a well-rounded portrayal of the Pennsylvania 'Dutch' as an integral part of the American people. The editor is indeed to be congratulated on the happy choice of contributors whom he invited to write on the various aspects of Pennsylvania German life and thought. For each of them treats his subject not only with the knowledge of the specialist and the objectivity of the scholar, but also with that insight that stems from some deep-rooted kinship, on the part of the writer, with the particular object of his research.

If this review did not have to concentrate, more or less, on matters linguistic, it would be very tempting to give a somewhat more detailed

1. *The Pennsylvania Germans.* By Arthur D. Graeff, Walter M. Kollmorgen, Clyde S. Stine, Ralph Wood, Richard H. Shryock, Albert F. Buffington, G. Paul Musselman, Harry H. Reichard, edited by Ralph Wood. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942. viii, 299 pp.

account of the individual articles in all their variety and comprehensiveness: in an introductory chapter entitled 'The Colonial Melting Pot,' Dr. Arthur D. Graeff most impressively sketches the history of the Pennsylvania Germans as an important part of the history of Pennsylvania and of the United States. W. M. Kollmorgen presents the story of Pennsylvania German farming as a striking example of the effect of cultural factors upon agriculture, in contrast to certain exaggerations of historical determinism and of the 'frontier theory.' Religion, in the form of the Lutheran and of the Reformed Church as well as of the sectarian movements, is ably discussed in two essays by G. P. Musselman and R. Wood. The much-debated problem of the Pennsylvania German schools and educational policies has found a well-informed and dispassionate critic in C. S. Stine; with regard to the problem of bilingualism he does not hesitate to make this statement: 'The educational developments which will mean the eventual disappearance of the dialect among the Pennsylvania Germans may be regretted for sentimental reasons but not for practical reasons' (p. 123 f.). At the same time, Dr. Stine presents many interesting observations of detail and displays a keen appreciation of the existing pedagogical problems of bilingualism which, to his regret, are being completely disregarded in the present course of study of bilingual school children in Pennsylvania.

Closely related to the pedagogical problem of bilingualism is the history of the long and bitter struggle of German *vs.* English as employed in the daily press and in the journals of the Pennsylvania Germans, a history which in R. Wood's presentation becomes a fascinating story of public opinion and political feuds, of small town printers and newspaper men, while at the same time much new light is shed on the relation of dialect and standard German in the Pennsylvania German area. In an essay on Pennsylvania German literature H. H. Reichard, well-known for his pioneer work on this subject published in 1918, introduces us to the best of the Pennsylvania German dialect writers through a number of brief but suggestive biographical sketches, and R. H. Shryock, in a very challenging paper on 'The Pennsylvania Germans as Seen by the Historian,' points out some of the reasons why in his opinion the Pennsylvania Germans for centuries have been step-children of American historiography, and expresses a hope that the growing reaction against the 'frontier thesis,' renewed appreciation of the importance of the Middle Atlantic area, and a growing vogue for local history in general may eventually lead to a more adequate interpretation of the Pennsylvania Germans as an integral element of American history (p. 258).

In view of the space and emphasis devoted to these phases of Pennsyl-

vania German life and thought, it is regrettable, not only from the point of view of the linguist, that the description of the Pennsylvania German dialect has been admitted only in the form of an 'Appendix.' It may be that the editor of the present volume or the author of this particular chapter, Dr. A. F. Buffington, felt that the present status of research did not permit a presentation of the Pennsylvania German dialect which would be scholarly as well as popular, and that they feared to jeopardize the happy popularity of the volume by the addition of a plethora of linguistic controversies and grammatical minutiae. It is true that only little more than five years ago, in the wake of Dr. Buffington's doctoral dissertation (Harvard, 1937) and as a result of the energetic progress of the Linguistic Atlas (C. E. Reed and L. W. J. Seifert, under the direction of Professor H. Kurath), scholarly interest in the Pennsylvania German dialect was revived, after its study had been almost completely neglected since the days of M. D. Learned (*The Pennsylvania German Dialect,* Baltimore, 1889). In accordance with the progress of linguistic science during the past fifty years, recent investigations of the Pennsylvania German dialect have followed various new avenues of approach, with the result that not only many new facts, but also many new problems concerning the distribution, growth, and origin of Pennsylvania German have presented themselves, problems which were attracting a number of young linguists when the beginning of the war put a temporary halt to most of these investigations (cf. my article 'The Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect,' *JEGP.,* XLII [1943], 1-39). Under these circumstances, Dr. Buffington perhaps rightly contented himself with an outline of certain facts concerning Pennsylvania German phonology, morphology, and vocabulary, similar to his earlier summary in *American Speech,* XIV (1939), 276-86.

In a few introductory paragraphs Dr. Buffington touches on the vexing problem of the exact origin of the Pennsylvania German settlers, a question which he is inclined, like C. H. Eshleman (*'s Pennsylfawnisch Deitsch Eck,* Nov. 2, 9, 16, 1935), to answer in favor of the eastern half of the Palatinate (p. 261) rather than of the western, as had been assumed according to the traditional view. I fear, however, that we are not in a position, on the basis of our present knowledge of Pennsylvania German and of the dialects of the Palatinate, to come to any definite conclusion with regard to this complicated problem, if it should be at all possible to settle this question on purely linguistic grounds. However that may be, even if present-day Pennsylvania German should have more in common with the present dialect of the eastern Palatinate than with the western, this resemblance may be incidental, may be what I should like to call a 'dialect-geographical illusion,' which in itself would not permit of any definite

conclusions regarding the exact origin of the individual Pennsylvania German settlers in the home country.

Another much-debated question is the survival, in present-day Pennsylvania German, of certain Alemannic (Swiss) characteristics which we would naturally expect, especially in counties such as Lancaster and York which are known to have been settled largely by the Swiss. Buffington rightly assumes that the general leveling process among the different dialects spoken by the first few generations of Pennsylvania German settlers eliminated 'most of those dialectal characteristics which were peculiar only to the Alemannic dialect.' This statement is corroborated by Dr. J. W. Frey's observations concerning his own native county of York, as presented in his doctoral dissertation *The German Dialect of Eastern York County* (University of Illinois, 1941; typescript). According to Dr. Frey, even the few supposed shibboleths of Swiss Alemannic which Buffington is willing to accept (p. 272 f.) are likewise found in Middle German dialects, as shown in recent studies of the dialects of Mannheim, Ludwigshafen, and Speyer.

The variations of the dialect as spoken in the different sections of southeastern Pennsylvania, according to Buffington, are very slight with regard to pronunciation, but somewhat more marked in the vocabulary. This statement is confirmed by the preliminary findings of the field work done by two members of the Staff of the Linguistic Atlas, Dr. C. E. Reed and Dr. L. W. J. Seifert, and it will in my opinion be borne out further by the geographical linguistic survey which we hope will be continued energetically after the war.

The account of the age-old struggle of German *vs.* English spelling (pp. 264-69) might have been somewhat condensed, for the benefit of a more extensive presentation of vocabulary and word formation, both of which seem to have been unduly neglected. In the meantime, however, the particularly intriguing problem of Pennsylvania German loan words from English has been very thoroughly discussed in another study by Dr. Buffington, 'English Loan Words in Pennsylvania German,' *Studies in Honor of J. A. Walz* (Lancaster, 1941), pp. 65-85. The field of dialect syntax, so much neglected in dialectal studies of this kind, is very amply represented by more than a dozen striking features of Pennsylvania German syntax, which Buffington has characterized and illustrated through a goodly number of well-chosen examples from the native speech. Special mention should also be made of the very illuminating chart showing the present distribution of Pennsylvania German in the State of Pennsylvania (p. 263).

It is to be hoped that the editor of this stimulating collection of essays

on Pennsylvania German life and thought will be rewarded, in the not too distant future, by the demand for a second edition of the book and that, by that time, our studies of the Pennsylvania German dialect will have advanced far enough to permit a more complete scholarly portrayal of Pennsylvania German speech and a more definite answer to the many challenging problems connected with it than may be possible today.

OTTO SPRINGER

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'LANGUAGES FOR WAR AND PEACE'

YOU'RE walking along Fifth Avenue. A little brown man steps up to you and says: 'Ima nanji desu ka? Are you surprised? Do you shake your head in bewilderment? No; not if you've studied *Languages for War and Peace*.[1] You'll know at once that the little man merely inquired for the time of day. You can reply in his native Japanese idiom, 'Roku-ji desu,'—it's six o'clock.[2]

This imaginary and of course burlesque situation points to what seems to this reviewer the sort of accomplishment a student of this book is expected to have as an end product of his reading. Hence the following critique will deal with the work mainly from two standpoints: fact value, and practical value. Or, in other words, it will seek to determine whether the statements made in this book are reliable, and the claims for its method are acceptable.

Active interest in the systematic collection of linguistic material may be said to have begun in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the last significant compendium of its kind, Adelung's *Mithridates,* ceased appearing in 1817. This volume is a sort of twentieth century *Mithridates,* not unlike its predecessors in scope and method of presentation ('a method that will enable the individual of average linguistic ability to acquire the basic facts about the world's chief languages . . .'), though differing sharply in purpose, since its point of view is neither historical nor scientific, but purely practical. The standard scientific work on the language families of the world appeared under the editorship of Meillet and Cohen, *Les langues du monde* (Paris 1924), and Kieckers' *Die Sprachstämme der Erde* (Heidelberg 1931) is a useful brief compendium. A collection of modern structural sketches of the world's languages, for comparative purposes, might be extremely desirable, but is at the present state of descriptive studies quite impracticable. Even the much talked about

1. *Languages for War and Peace.* By Mario A. Pei. New York, N.Y.: S. F. Vanni, 1943. 575 pp.

2. This spelling doesn't reflect the pronunciation: ['nanji'deska], [ro'kuji des].

phonemic atlas of so small an area as Europe has failed to appear to date. It will not surprise the reader, therefore, to find plenty of faults throughout, illustrating the danger inherent in partial reporting, especially when based on either inadequate informant work or, worse still, on other, also partial and in only a few cases structural, reports.

A foreword is followed by fourteen chapters. Chapter I deals with language types and language families, Chapter II sketches the geographical distribution of languages, and the remaining chapters deal with specific languages. The book includes sixteen linguistic maps and nineteen illustrations, mainly samples of various types of writing. The chapter on Japanese (pp. 525-70) was written by Ralph Walker Scott, and the chapter on Malay (pp. 507-22) by the Rev. William E. Lowther.

Speaking of the fact value of this book, the reviewer at once retires to yield to the expert possessing first-hand knowledge of the multifarious languages discussed therein. He can but draw his conclusions in this respect from a study of the sections dealing with his own special field of interest. These happen to be Hungarian, Finnish, and Finno-Ugric linguistics. Unfortunately, the parts devoted to these (pp. 30-31, 429-39) bristle with dubious and inaccurate statements, with confusion and misinformation. This is not to say, naturally, that the reader must withdraw benefit of the doubt regarding the accuracy of the other sections, for nothing would be more unfair, if these sections are not representative. It's up to the specialist to judge the sections relevant to his own field.

The first chapter gives an initial and misleading impression that 'Indo-European,' 'Ural-Altaic,' 'American Indian,' and similar labels, stand for equivalent groups—sets of genetically related languages. In fact, while the first label represents an actual language family, the second and third labels do not. 'Ural-Altaic' stands for a number of language families, with no proof of their relation, but of a specific structural type. 'American Indian' (like 'African Negro') is a geographical term at best, including many languages and families of languages (for it is incorrect to say that 'classification is almost impossible') of many structural types.

Here is the author's version (p. 31) of the Uralic language family:

Uralic (or Finno-Ugric):	Finnish (with Karelian and Russia, such as Mordvinian, Estonian).
	Lapp (with some languages of northeastern European
	Cheremiss, Votyak, Ostyak).
	Hungarian (or Magyar).
	Samoyed.

There is practically nothing correct, or even meaningful, here. Uralic is

not the same as Finno-Ugric; the sentence following 'Finnish' makes no sense; Lapp is closer to Finnish than to any of the languages listed with it, especially Ostyak which belongs, if anywhere on the table, with Hungarian.[3] The Hungarian illustrations accompanying the discussion contain three mistakes (or misprints).

In the further discussion of this 'language family' (p. 429) the author gives a comparative vocabulary illustrating the differences between Finnish, Hungarian, and Turkish. Whatever the purpose of such an undertaking might be is not clear. The examples are misleading, in any event. The first Hungarian word, *alma,* superficially resembles the Turkish *elma*: the reason is that the former is borrowed from an earlier Turkish form. On the other hand, Finnish *kolme* and Hungarian *három* bear a genetic relationship which none but the expert would recognize. Finnish *käsivarsi* is compared with Hungarian *kar,* for both mean 'arm'; but the first is a compound word and should be broken up into its components before comparing with Hungarian; it would then be clear that *käsi* actually corresponds to *kéz,* both 'hand.' In explaining vowel harmony, the author divides the vowels into front, back, and 'neutral, pronounced in the middle part of the mouth, such as *e.*' This is a gross error, for of course the 'neutrality' of *e* in Hungarian and Finnish is not phonetic but morphophonemic. The illustrative passages from John 3.16 are absolutely archaic, in the Hungarian especially.[4] In the specific treatment of Hungarian the following are some of the partially incorrect statements: 'Accented vowels are long; unaccented vowels are short';[5] 'Double consonants must be pronounced double, as in Italian';[6] 'The Hungarian

3. Ostyak, Vogul, and Hungarian are jointly known as Ugic. Finnic includes Finnish, Estonian, Lapp, Cheremiss, Mordvinian, Votyak, and many other languages of varying degrees of relationships. The parent language of Finnic and Ugric is of course Finno-Ugric. Finno-Ugric plus Samoyede are generally known as Uralic.

4. On p. 575 the author admits that the passages selected for comparative purposes throughout (John 3.16, from the 'Book of a Thousand Tongues') are in some cases stereotyped and archaic. 'While this may be true in a few instances,' the author remarks, 'it may be replied that nowhere else was it possible to obtain, for an entire series of languages, so homogeneous and accurate a set of individual translations. But of far greater importance is the fact that the Word of God, with its message of deathless hope to suffering humanity, seemed peculiarly fitted for a work of this kind, since it transcends national boundaries and finds an echo in the hearts of all men, irrespective of race, color, creed, speech or political belief. May this Word point to a solution of mankind's material, as well as spiritual problems.'

5. 'Accent" presumably means 'long diacritic' here; but even so, *í, ü, ú,* are long in some positions for some speakers only.

6. Only in some positions; not, for example, before open juncture; besides, why describe a strange phonetic phenomenon in terms of another such, for the American speaker?

stress is always on the *first* syllable of the word';[7] 'The plural is generally formed by the suffix *-k,* preceded by various vowels . . .';[8] 'Officially, Hungarian has four "cases." . . .'[9] These statements appear on page 436.

Before passing from a discussion of the content to an answer of the question *cui bono?* it must be pointed out that the book has no index of any kind, regrettably. Also, there seem to be no bibliographical references guiding to further study of particular languages, though such a list might prove especially valuable to the type of reader who might want the book.

The method here advocated should enable you, presumably, to accomplish these two objectives: to identify readily the world's chief languages, 'and to handle more than just one of them in a comprehensible and acceptable fashion, even if without absolute grammatical correctness and literary style.'

The aim of recognizing a language when spoken—by certain features listed (such as 'Czech is identified by its initial stress and by long but unaccented vowel-sounds')—seems to this reviewer not only pointless, but also nearly impossible. In the remote case that such an unlikely situation should arise as the one outlined in the first paragraph above, surely not even a highly trained specialist would attempt to work by other than cultural clues of various sorts. As for recognizing the language of a text, the lists of orthographic features (such as the one given for Roumanian at the foot of p. 178) will serve well those intending to work as censors.

Whether or not it is possible to achieve a degree of speaking ability in several languages by application of the method advocated is a question to be answered by bringing evidence. Your reviewer's experience would indicate that constant practice with, and imitation of native speakers is essential in learning to speak a language with any degree of fluency, and that no amount of reading *about* the language will do.

In considering this book as a whole and its extremely healthy global attitude ('Linguistic isolationism and self-sufficiency, the sort of thing that some American educators have been preaching during the last two decades, will be regarded as something just as outmoded and ridiculous as political isolationism and economic autarchy have been proved to be') one must keep in mind the immensity of the undertaking, and excuse to a certain extent its shortcomings. A second volume, treating some 13 additional

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7. Not always, depending, for example, on such features as the intonation pattern or compound juncture.

8. The *-i-* is a plural marker of equal importance, used before the personal possessive suffix, and so forth.

9. This is meaningless.

languages in greater detail, as well as a 'World Language Series' (separate booklets on several languages) are being announced. It is to be hoped—if this reviewer may offer some advice—that these, and future editions of the present work, will not neglect essential details, gigantic though the scale of presentation be.

THOMAS A. SEBEOK

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REJOINDER BY PROFESSOR PEI

FROM Tunisia comes a story of a Nazi scout who, approaching in the darkness a trench filled with Americans, called out cautiously in German, under the delusion that he was in touch with his own forces; an American soldier who had had high school German quickly replied in the same tongue; still a bit suspicious, the Nazi called out the same question in bad Italian; an Italian-American from the Bronx answered back. And now, fully reassured, the scout finally walked into the trench and the arms of his captors. The point of the story is that if the locale of the reviewer's imaginary and burlesque situation as outlined in his first paragraph were transferred from Fifth Avenue to the steaming jungles of New Guinea, or the streets of Tokyo after the American occupation, it might not be quite so excruciatingly funny.[1]

Perhaps *Languages for War and Peace* was not written for specialist scholars like Dr. Sebeok, who rather contradicts himself when he speaks of 'plenty of errors throughout' and then retires to the castle of his own specialization, with occasional sallies into other fields,[2] not including, regrettably enough, the Romance, in which he has achieved considerable distinction.

It is a little ungenerous on the reviewer's part to make so much of a last-minute typesetter's error on p. 31. If he will take the line 'Russia, such

1. Professor Scott and I thank the reviewer for the Japanese phonetic transcription in his note 2. May we, however, call his attention to p. 531 of the book, where the sound of Japanese short *u* is described as having a tendency to disappear at the end of a word? The example given for this phenomenon is '*desu*, pron. *des*'.'

2. 'American Indian' and 'African Negro' are not described as forming a single genetically related family, but rather as geographical units, paralleling the arrangement followed by scientific manuals such as Gray's *Foundations of Language*. Why does the reviewer choose to misinterpret such statements as 'no definite classification can be given'; 'Structure: enormous variations'; and 'classification is almost impossible'? What worthy purpose would have been served, in a book of this type, designed to present the *outstanding* facts of language to the *layman*, by slavishly copying out the list of American Indian language families appearing in Meillet and Cohen? On the other hand, is it not better for that same layman to know that such a thing as American Indian languages exist than to think that the American Indians were speechless and used only sign language prior to the coming of Columbus?

as Mordvinian' and transfer it three lines below, under 'northeastern European,' he will perceive that it becomes meaningful and makes sense, though he may still disagree with the classification.[3]

For the specific criticism concerning the classification of Ural-Altaic languages, it may be pointed out that there is not complete agreement among the specialists in the field (some even link Ural-Altaic with Indo-European). Meillet and Cohen, one of the works the reviewer cites with approval, gives a classification substantially in agreement with mine, save for Ostyak, where I freely admit my oversight (*Langues du monde,* pp. 155-57). But even granting disparity of opinion, how does the reviewer reconcile his insistence on precise classification with his earlier statement that 'Ural-Altaic stands for a number of language families, with no proof of their relation, but of a specific structural type'?[4]

The purpose of the comparative vocabulary of Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish is precisely as stated: to illustrate the vocabulary *differences* among the Ural-Altaic languages, in contrast to the vocabulary *similarities* appearing in other groups, notably the Indo-European. This falls quite in line with the reviewer's previous criticism to the effect that the Ural-Altaic tongues are only structurally related. First I am blamed for not saying something, then I am blamed for saying it. The entire paragraph preceding the incriminated vocabulary comparison is a clear statement of precisely what the reviewer says, even to the rejection of fundamental unity of the Ural-Altaic family by certain linguists. Is there a deliberate desire to misunderstand?

The 'gross error' charge in connection with neutral vowels fails to take into consideration the fact that they are presented only functionally, not historically. Plenty of indication of this is given to the specialist who might happen to read the book; on p. 430, where the languages are functionally presented, I say that vowel sounds are divided into *two* or three classes, while the neutral vowel does not appear at all on p. 30, where the structural aspects of Ural-Altaic are described. Had I used such terms as

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3. The mechanical task of producing a book of this type under wartime conditions of labor and material shortages was not easy. Added to this was the fact that over a thousand subscribers were clamoring for their bound copies of the book, which they had been receiving in the form of advance proof. (This perhaps answers the question '*Cui bono*?' and indicates that some people find this type of information useful.) The forthcoming unhurried second edition will contain the index Dr. Sebeok desires, along with corrections of printer's errors which unfortunately crept in at the last moment.

4. Here again, it was deemed better for the layman to have some idea of the classification of the Ural-Altaic languages, even though not a precise one (note that on my p. 25 I say: 'This table is not exact, and it is far from complete') than to be allowed to bask in the belief, current among so many cultured Americans, that Finnish and Hungarian, particularly the latter, are 'Slavic' tongues.

'morphophonemic' (What a lovely word! Is it copyrighted?), I wonder how many of my readers would have understood me.[5]

It is quite legitimate and extremely practical to describe the phonetic phenomena of one language in terms of another, more familiar one, as evidenced by the fact that the reviewer takes no issue with my description of *ö, ő, ü, ű* in terms of French sounds. And the suffix *-k, ne déplaise à M. Sebeok, is* the more *general* plural marker in Hungarian, since it occurs with the noun in its simplest form, when it is unadorned by a 'personal possessive suffix, and so forth.'[6] The Hungarian four 'official' cases appear in most traditional grammars; at any rate, the statement that immediately follows in the book ('In reality, since all ideas of place where, to which, from which, etc. are indicated by suffixes, the actual number of case-forms in Hungarian equals or surpasses that of Finnish') ought to have mollified Dr. Sebeok, were he at all mollifiable.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that when used in courses, this book is accompanied by native speakers, just as are the Army booklets in phonetic English transcription which the reviewer probably uses in his own courses. If one is forced to dispense with speakers or records, he can at least gain an idea of what the language is like in written form, which is not true of many offerings now on the market. Two graduate students with a Latin and French background and no previous knowledge of Spanish were able to write, after two weeks' study of the Spanish chapter, acceptable Spanish compositions of the type (and with the approximate number of errors) normally written by third-year Spanish college students. For evidence of speaking ability, the reviewer is invited to visit the author's classes.

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5. 'Long diacritic' is suggested for 'accented vowel'; the latter term, in my book, comes immediately after the Hungarian written alphabet, with its vowels bearing the accent mark; again, those who want to misunderstand are at liberty to do so. And is a work of this type the proper one to bring out the difference in the length of certain vowels by certain speakers, or the partial shift of stress caused by 'intonation pattern' or 'compound juncture'? (The latter terms, like the 'morphophonemic' above, are characteristic of the neologistic jargon of a certain school of American linguists, who are fast creating an 'abracadabra' comprehensible only to themselves, and which they regard with a veneration that borders on religious fanaticism.) The first of the two distinctions of which the reviewer speaks is not brought out in a 113-page descriptive work on the language which appears to be the latest word on the subject (R. A. Hall, Jr., *An Analytical Grammar of Hungarian,* Linguistic Society of America, 1938, p. 14-16); the second is minimized (*op. cit.,* p. 20: 'The accent always falls on the first vowel of each word,' etc.); what reason would there have been for inserting them in a work in which *four* pages are devoted to Hungarian? See also Hall, p. 22, 24, for a functional description of the Hungarian neutral vowels unaccompanied by the distinctions desired by the reviewer.

6. See Hall, *op. cit.,* p. 32: '*-i* is used *only* when the noun is provided with a personal possessive suffix,' etc. (my italics).

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MISCELLANY

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A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON SOUTHERN 'YOU ALL'

Excuse It, Please.—Liza, the Negro cook, answered the telephone one morning and a cheerful voice inquired, 'What number is this?'

Liza was in no mood for trifling and said with some asperity, 'You all ought to know. You done called it!'—*New Outlook* (Toronto).

The above joke, quoted some years ago in the now defunct *Literary Digest,* is typical of the misunderstanding, outside the South, of 'you all.' If Liza had been a genuine southern negress, she would not have applied the plural pronoun 'you all' to one person.

Similarly, in one of Fontaine Fox's cartoons (1939), a colored woman at the door of a shanty says to an agent for 'Sun Tan Lamp': '*I'se* the lady of the house, wot you all wanta sell me?' Again, in the Gump comic strip of January 2, 1943, a colored maid says to the erstwhile maid Tilda: 'Has you-all got a cinder in you-all's eye, Miss Tilda?'

To be sure, these do not purport to represent educated southern speech. But to many unfamiliar with the South, an indiscriminate 'you all' does seem to be regarded as an unmistakable southern shibboleth. Recently a North Carolina senator protested vigorously about the 'butchery' of southern speech emanating from Hollywood.

These few words of mine obviously make no claim to being a scholarly treatise on 'you all.' Several excellent papers on the subject have appeared in recent years, one of the best of which, by a colleague of mine, was published in *American Speech.*[1] What I have to say is by way of personal testimony.

For nearly a score of years I have been observing the use of 'you all.' I had never been south of the Mason and Dixon line until I came to Davidson College in 1925. As an observer I was perhaps especially fortunate in bringing an ear at least in some degree attuned to speech vagaries to a region where the speech coloring was largely new to me. The point I wish to make is that I have never heard anyone, white or colored, educated or uneducated, use 'you all' when the singular was clearly intended, as in the three quotations above. Some southerners have told me that uneducated speakers do sometimes use 'you all' as a singular, but nineteen years of careful listening have never brought a single instance to my ears.

I consider 'you all' a contribution to American speech, because it makes a distinction often missing elsewhere, unless one says: 'you

1. E. F. Shewmake, 'Shakespeare and Southern "You all,"' *American Speech,* 13: 163-168 (1938).

folks, you girls, you fellows,' etc. But I must admit that many of my students seem to feel that 'you all' is colloquial and should not be used, for instance, in the classroom. However, there are times when its use would make for clarity in translation. In the old familiar Germelshausen story the hero says to Gertrud: 'Aber wird dein Heinrich nicht bös werden, wenn ich auch manchmal—oder recht oft bei euch bin, und recht viel mit dir plaudere?' While *dein* and *dir* are of course singular, *bei euch* distinctly means 'at you all's house, the home of you and your family'; yet many students who would naturally say 'you all' under similar circumstances, seem to feel that the idiom is out of place in formal speech and make the ambiguous translation 'at your house.' I tell my students that an idiom in constant use by millions of educated speakers has won a place in the language.

How convenient is the distinction in this sentence by a high school teacher: 'Do you (singular) drive you all's (the family's) car?' Even where the singular might be proper, a nice distinction can be made, as (overheard): 'Sam, did you all's committee get together?' In fact, 'you all' is in a sense so distinctly one word that an additional 'all' may be added for emphasis, as: 'Y'all all well?' That is: 'Geht es euch allen gut?' In the speech of children I have observed not only an orthodox plural imperative: 'Y'all wait!,' but a sort of vocative usage: 'Come on, y'all!'

Frequently, when no ambiguity is involved, the 'all' may be omitted, especially when the pronoun is unaccented, as in the little gem I recently heard: 'Reckon none o' y'all don't know, do ye?' I have heard the same distinction made in cultivated speech, but cannot call to mind a definite example.

I repeat that, in almost a score of years of residence in North Carolina I have never heard anyone say 'you all,' unless the plural was definitely and distinctly intended.[2]

GUY R. VOWLES
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A PROTEST FROM THE PHILIPPINES

Philippines (Vol. II, p. 23, August, 1942), a magazine published in Washington, D.C., by the Office of the Philippine Resident Commission to the United States, attempts to set Americans right on a point of grammar.

'American writers and editors stick stubbornly and mistakenly to the plural verb when predicating the noun, Philippines,' writes the editor. 'The constitution of the Philippines, formulated in English and approved by the President of the United States, employs a singular verb to predicate the Philippines. For the phrase, Philippine Islands, however, the plural verb is

2. Lowry Axley, *Am. Sp.*, 2: 343 (May 1927), takes the same stand concerning the Southern use of 'you all' as Mr. Vowles. The contrary position, with illustrations of the use of 'you all' in the singular, may be found in the contributions of Vance Randolph (*Am. Sp.*, 3: 5, Oct. 1927), Estelle R. Morrison (*Am. Sp.*, 4: 54, Oct. 1928), and Thomas C. Blaisdell (*Am. Sp.*, 6: 390, June 1931).—L. P.

used. Thus, the Philippines *is,* and the Philippine Islands *are.*'

Article II, Section 1, of the Philippine Constitution illustrates this usage: 'The Philippines is a republican state. Sovereignty resides in the people and all government authority emanates from them.'

The Filipino Way of Life, written by Camilo Osias in 1940, also consistently follows this usage, as the following examples show:

> The Philippines confessedly lacks a crystallized social philosophy (p. 25).
>
> The Philippines consists of some seven thousand islands (p. 41).
>
> If the Philippine Islands are to continue as mere insular possessions (p. 29).

Filamericans is the term used by Lt. Col. Carlos P. Romulo, aide to General MacArthur, in writing of Filipino and American troops in an article in *The Rotarian,* August, 1942. He received the Pulitzer prize in 1942 for distinguished journalistic writing.

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'MOOCH'; 'RUN' IN THE SENSE OF 'CHASE'

In the course of grand jury duties I heard an interesting slang word. Salesmen selling advertising on allegedly false representations referred to customers whom they had sold as 'mooches.' The exact phrase is, 'Once you've got him sold, he becomes a mooch.' It seems to be synonymous with 'sucker.'

A Negro witness said, 'He run me with a knife.' My southern friends say that they would immediately understand this to mean, 'He chased me with a knife.'

MARIO A. PEI
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VARIANT LOUISIANA PRONUNCIATIONS OF THE WORD 'PECAN'

The collection of variant pronunciations of certain words can easily become a fascinating hobby. The word *pecan* is an interesting one with which to start, at least in Louisiana. Starting with [pɪˈkɑn], which is considered standard in Southern speech, and [pəˈkɑn], which is also an acceptable form, the writer has collected nine other specimens to date. Some, of course, are heard frequently; others are rare. The pronunciations are:

1. ˈpiˈkæn
2. pɪˈkæn
3. ˈpiːkɑn
4. ˈpikən
5. pɪˈkɑn
6. pəˈkɑn
7. ˈpʌˈkɑn
8. ˈpʌˈkɔn
9. ˈpʌˈkɔ
10. pəˈkɔ
11. pəˈkɔrn

The writer considers number eleven, the latest addition, a rare find indeed. Yet it is indisputably genuine. It occurred twice in a short talk given in a freshman speech class. Somewhere, it is reasonable to hope, a [ˈpʌˈkɔrn] and a [ˈpiˈkɔrn] are waiting to be discovered.

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WORDS, WORDS, WORDS

'A new word, *pesticide,* has crept into garden literature this year. It's used in referring to insecti-

cides and fungicides. This new word, not in the dictionary, covers more territory, takes less time to write. . . . Users of the word are the New Haven Experiment Station and Fungicide Association.'—*Farm Journal and Farmer's Wife,* September, 1943, p. 71.

'*Loosy,* from loose and easy, is the invention of "Bill" Miller, the country's foremost relaxation expert. He launched it to describe his "Miller methods." '—*Time,* November 15, 1943, p. 65.

'Ushers for the *hymnfest* series which begins the evening of November 21 at St. Paul Methodist church, will be provided by the junior chamber of commerce from its members.' Lincoln, Nebraska, *State Journal,* November 10, 1943.

'*Heaven is a Sunswept Hill,* by Earl Grey, does for the doughty farmers of the *flood-bowl* what Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* did for those in the dust bowl.'—*Philadelphia Record,* July, 1943.

Gizmo is the Marine Corps equivalent of the civilian indefinite terms gadget, or thingumbob, according to the *Chevron,* Marine Corps publication at San Diego (cited in *Time,* July 19, 1943, p. 69).

Brownout appears in the issue of the *Advertising Age,* September 13, 1943, p. 61: 'The suggested conservation measures for electricity involve a national brownout, the extinguishing of all ornamental and display lighting and signs after 10 p.m.'

In the wake of the popular coinage *know-how* appear now *know-why* and *show-how.* For example, the *Reader's Digest* printed an article by Stuart Chase (October, 1943, pp. 79-82) entitled 'Show-How: a Revolution in Management.'

'At no time in the past has so much depended upon the correct *guesstimation* of the tactical requirements of the future.'—Peter Mansfield, newspaper item from Washington (NANA), September 26, 1943.

An article by Gilbert Seldes in *Esquire,* August, 1943, p. 88, is entitled 'Jimmy Durante is *Exhubilant.*'

Plonked means intoxicated: '. . . a few badly plonked soldiers blearily unaware of just where they were.' *Life,* August 30, 1943.

An *apartmate* is one who shares an apartment with another.

Tell-Show, possibly inspired by *know-how,* has made its debut recently. 'In combining the two methods (of instructing a new employee) we may coin a new word, "tell-show." '—*Balance Sheet,* xxv, November, 1943, p. 102.

Finishup is a word commonly used by 4-H Club members and agricultural agents in the central west. It occasionally appears in print. 'Plans were practically completed for holding annual South Platte pasture-forage livestock "finishup" at Holdrege, next Tuesday, November 9, when farmers in that area will be honored for their wartime food production efforts.'—Lincoln, Nebraska *Evening State Journal,* November 5, 1943.

The new compound *pin-up* con-

tinues to meet with favor. Witness comment by the New York *Times* of October 24, 1943: 'Prominent among the season's debutantes in the realm of verbal fashions are *activate* and *pin-up*. The latter may be welcomed without reservation. It is crisp, evocative and native to the times and the circumstances. . . . It has got as far as *pinup boy*, which is the counterpart of the WACS, WAVES, SPARS and the rest. The word is turning up in other fields as the synonym for favorite, choice, tops. . . .'

JOTTINGS

'*Supersonics*, the art of putting to work sound vibrations of ultra-high pitch, may usher in a new age of chemistry with radio being used as a catalytic agent.'—*Nation's Business*, November, 1943, p. 34.

Itchibells is 'a new word designating glass fibres large enough to retain some brittleness and hence likely to break into tiny bits that penetrate the skin and cause itching. Itchibells are three-ten-thousandths of an inch in diameter or larger.'—D. H. Killeffer in *The Rotarian*, July 1943, p. 36.

Telefax was adopted as the name of the Automatic Telegraph —the facsimile system of telegraphy developed by Western Union engineers—as the result of an employe suggestion in 1941. Mr. Harry McDonald, now on furlough from Western Union while serving as a lieutenant in the U. S. Signal Corps, thought the first name confusing, and too prosaic for the dramatic invention hailed as 'The Telegraph of Tomorrow.'—Western Union *Dots and Dashes*, XIX, 3, September 1943.

The *Newsmap* Magazine describes itself (V, August, 1943) as 'A Unique New Magazine' with 'World Map News.'

Mapography is a coinage in verses by Dow Richardson in the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 31, 1943, p. 30. It refers to the feminine face.

Donald Porter Geddes in a guest editorial in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (June 5, 1943, p. 18) launches a blend of 'abnormality' and 'monstrosity': 'Indeed, the intellectually sympathetic sometimes are hard put to it to understand the immediate or even ultimate social and cultural value and significance of some of the *abstrosities* (to coin a word) that come out of learned minds.'

'Leader of *Satanocracy*' is the heading of a review by Paul Hagen of Ernest Jackh's *The War for Man's Soul* in the New York *Herald Tribune*, November 21, 1943. 'Fortunately for humanity Professor Jackh thinks there is an antagonist of the Satanocracy and under his leadership we shall win this war for man's soul.'

Conservice Guide is a book by Westinghouse Conservice Schools —wartime schools established to teach men how to maintain and repair electrical household appliances. See *Westinghouse Service Beacon*, in *Printer's Ink*, September 10, 1943, p. 24.

'We "*conveyorized*" the job be-

cause we knew we'd have to depend on female labor. We didn't want them to do any lifting or carrying.'—*Newsweek,* August 16, 1943.

'But one shouldn't carp at Mr. White's translation of *air-ese* of his characters into our lay language, because he has again done a grand job of making vivid to those of us at home what is actually happening in far away places and situations which we have to experience vicariously.'—Chicago Sunday *Tribune,* June 13, 1943.

'To Dobie (Professor J. Frank of Texas), there are only three classes of people in Texas, whether they be college presidents or janitors. They are either *Texians, Texans,* or people who just live in Texas. Texians are the old rock; Texans, a term which came into use only after the Civil War, are those out of the old rock; the people who live in Texas are those who are wearing the old rock away.'—'Maverick Professor,' by Jeanne Douglas and Liz Wharton in *Saturday Evening Post,* September 11, 1943, p. 61.

Several inquirers have asked whether one should write *deferrable or deferable.* One newspaper had the heading, September, 1943, 'To Reclassify Non-Deferrable Fathers First.' In another section it had 'Men in *non-deferable* occupations are transferring to essential war jobs here.' A few lines later appeared *non-deferrable* again. Many newspapers use only the spelling with one *r.* In official instructions the word is said to be spelled with two *r*'s, as in dictionaries. It may not yet have settled down, however, into one usage.

'SOOGIE,' 'SOUJGE'

Jack G. Arbolino, in *American Speech,* 17: 280 (Dec. 1942), describes this word as follows: '*Soogie (the walls), To.* To wash down the painted bulkheads of a ship.' In *Time* for January 10, 1944, p. 4, we find: '. . . a couple of clean rags, a bucket of "soujge" and another of fresh water to clean their paint work.' The pronunciation of the word is ['sudʒɪ], and the spelling of Arbolino would appear to be preferable.

I heard this word for the first time in 1928, and can testify that, both as verb and as noun, it is in common use in the naval and merchant services. Despite its currency there, it seems to have appeared but rarely in print, if one may judge from the variant spellings quoted and from the fact that it does not occur either in the *OED* or in the *DAE.*

I wish to propose the following etymology: There exists in Japanese the noun *sōji* [so:dʒi] 'cleaning; sweeping; scrubbing,' which is a compound borrowed from the Chinese. This noun can be combined with the auxiliary verb *suru* ('to do, make'), and the locution *sōji suru* is defined as 'to clean (a house); to sweep (a room); to scrub (the floor)' [Saito's *Japanese-English Dictionary,* Tokyo, 1928]. Information for determining the conditions

for such a possible borrowing are not at hand, but I think the coincidence is at least noteworthy.

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[Editor's Note: This word is also mentioned in the article by Mr. Otis Ferguson, printed elsewhere in this issue, with the spelling *soogee*.]

'THE CATBIRD SEAT'

Apropos the query as to 'the catbird seat,' page 278 of *American Speech* for December, 1943, which gave September 7, 1943, as the date on which the phrase had appeared in print: 'The Catbird Seat' was the title of a short story by James Thurber published in the *New Yorker* magazine of November 14, 1942. The story fully explains the usage.

R. P. Harriss
Baltimore, Maryland

'DROKE'

In a poem submitted by a writer in Grand Falls, Newfoundland, and published in the January 22, 1944, issue of *Saturday Night* (a Toronto, Canada, weekly) occurs the following line: 'Ptarmigan sheltering in leafless drokes.'

Droke is explained in an accompanying *gloss* as a 'Cornish word, still common in Newfoundland, meaning a thicket or copse.' This meaning is somewhat different from the one given in the Newfoundland word list in *Dialect Notes*, 5: 329: 'A cluster of fir or spruce.'

A. R. Dunlap
University of Delaware

INITIAL LONG 'U'

The use of the article *an* before consonants, which was once common in English, as appears in the King James version of the Bible, is still not unnatural or illogical before long *u* when it is pronounced as a decrescent diphthong, i.e. as [ɪŭ] instead of [ju:], especially when unstressed, as in *an university*. I have caught myself using this occasionally, transferring my normal internal [ɪŭ], as in *due, few*, etc., to the initial *u*.

The [ɪŭ] allophone is a perpetuation of the sixteenth-century [iŭ]. Ellis[1] quotes Butler: '*E* and *i* short with *w* have the very sound of *u* long: as in *hiw, kneew, true* appeareth.'[2] Ellis[3] also quotes Buchanan[4] as using in his pronunciations *iu* to prepresent the long *u* in *true, furious, lute, muse*, and Franklin[5] in *furious, usage*, and *used*.

While it is not clear whether the *iu* in these cases represents [ɪŭ] or [ju:], it does seem clear that at some point in the evolution of modern long *u*, it must have passed through this stage, since it is derived from MEng. [ɛ:u, e:u] and this from OEng. [e:o], e.g. *hēow* > *hue, nēowe* > *new, clēow* > *clew, cnēow* > *knew, blēow* > *blew*.

The point which Butler seems to make, viz. that the first element is

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1. Alexander J. Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation*, 1: 170 (London, 1869).
2. Charles Butler, *The English Grammar* (Oxford, 1633).
3. *Op. cit.*, 1: 184.
4. James Buchanan, *Essay towards Establishing a Standard . . .* (London, 1766).
5. Benjamin Franklin, *A Scheme for a New Alphabet* (London, 1806).

vocalic and the second consonantal, added to the fact that the first element was originally a long vowel, indicates a decrescent diphthong, more akin to [ɪŭ] than to [ju:].

The glide character of the [ɪ] in the modern diphthong is also a complication, since the prolongation is applied to the second element so that the nexus is better transcribed for quantity as [ɪŭ·]. This need not, however, cause any confusion, as it is not uncommon to hear prolonged non-syllabics, e.g. [bɛl·] *bell,* [ðɛn·] *then,* and in singing with any degree of prolongation.

EDWIN B. DAVIS
Rutgers University

VIRGINIA COUNTY NAMES

In *American Speech,* Vol. 18, p. 309 (Dec. 1943), Mr. DeLancey Ferguson asked whether the custom of omitting the word 'county' from a county name is still general in Virginia. Persons in the Tidewater and the Mountain sections will have to report on those areas—though I believe that their reports will be the same as mine.

In Piedmont, Virginia—from a line through Fredericksburg, Richmond, and Petersburg to the Blue Ridge or even to the Alleghenies—the custom is to omit the word 'county' whenever the speaker wishes to, which means that you may hear a person say 'Dinwiddie' and 'Dinwiddie County' within the same minute. My horse-back impression, furthermore, is that by the average speaker the word is omitted far more than it is said.

The following headlines from two issues of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* illustrate the omission of the word from the names of Henrico, Fauquier, Augusta, and Albemarle Counties:

March 24, 1944:

1. Maryland Officers Study Henrico Policies (p. 7, col. 2)
2. Farmers of Fauquier to Hear Agronomist (p. 18, col. 8)

March 25, 1944:

1. Augusta Teachers' Pay Again Estimated (p. 4, col. 3)
2. Norfolk Man Will Preach in Albemarle (p. 13, col. 2)

Similar examples may be found by the score.

ATCHESON L. HENCH
University of Virginia

TWO ANSWERS TO QUERIES

In the December, 1943, issue of *American Speech,* page 278, there are two queries which interested me.

1. *Skish.* I assume that this term is a blend, come into use recently, among 'land' fishermen. I take it to be combined from *skeet* and *fish,* since it is to real fishing what skeet is to real hunting. The catalogue of the Shakespeare Company of Kalamazoo, Michigan, a manufacturer of fishing tackle, describes skish as follows: 'Scatter 10 targets at random with no target closer than 40 feet and no target farther than 80 feet from the casting point. Only standard fishing tackle is permitted. The caster is scored on the number of "hits" on or inside the target.'

2. *Walking in high cotton.* A few weeks ago I ran a letter of enquiry in one of our local papers, which has a wide circulation in this state and

goes into some other states. I quoted *American Speech* in toto, and asked for any light on the expression. I received the answer I had expected —nothing. Several of my friends told me that they had never heard of the expression. One woman did give me an expression *high cotton,* which had another meaning. It meant the short cotton dress that a child had outgrown—it had become *high cotton.* In the South we do have an expression which is a parallel to the one you quote: *to walk* (or *be*) *in high clover;* this means to be well off, to be happy, successful—*to be eating one's long corn.* I think that *to walk in high cotton* is the creation of some individual, and not a localism.

GEORGE P. WILSON
North Carolina Woman's College

'BROKE IN HARTFORD'

There is an old song called 'She Was Just a Sailor's Sweetheart,' which contains the line, 'And he left her broken-hearted.' At least that's the way the line goes in the version of the song which a number of my friends know. In an anthology, however, called *Songs of the Gay Nineties* (Robbins Music Corp., 1938), the song is printed, and the line reads, 'And he left her broke in Hartford.' Nobody I've talked to who knows the song has ever heard that variant. (The printed version cites Joe Burke as composer-author, under a 1925 Leo Feist, Inc., copyright.)

WILLIAM MCGUIRE
New York City

SOME NOTES ON AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION

Apparently because the original item had been telephoned in, the Columbia *Missourian* had to publish a correction to the effect that a certain professor at the University of Missouri 'has been transferred to the department of area and language under the A.S.T.P. instead of Aryan language as was previously printed.' This example might be added to the list of instances in which a differentiation of meaning may hinge upon a differentiation between syllabic and nonsyllabic *n.*

Add to unusual spellings a proper name in which the stress-bearing vowel is represented by an apostrophe: the name *Rein'l* is pronounced, at least by the member of the family who recently taught at the University of Missouri and is now in the army, [raɪˈnɛl]. Mr. Rein'l tells of an acquaintance known familiarly as [ˈɛntsɪ], the explanation being that his mother used to call him from the fields with [klæɚˈˈɛnts].

The word *Newscast* came in from KXOK, St Louis, the other day stressed on the second syllable, as though it might mean 'news to be cast': [ðə ˈnɛkst nĭüzˈkæːst wɪl bi ˈhɝd . . .].

Miss Fern Jo Rogers reports *torqometer,* so stamped on the type of wrench used to measure the tightening of nuts, as pronounced [tɔɚˈkɑmətɚ] in Kansas City.

LEE S. HULTZÉN
Columbia, Missouri

THE ANIMAL THAT GIVES MO-HAIR

The hair that is woven into mohair cloth comes from the mo, an animal raised in the West, especially in Texas. So said the unpredictable Charlie McCarthy to his guest Charlie Ruggles while the two were discussing automobile seats, in Edgar Bergen's broadcast of Mar. 12, 1944.

Consciously done, this is a happy imitation of what folk-etymologizers usually do in all seriousness.

ATCHESON L. HENCH
University of Virginia

TRAIN LANGUAGE

An advertisement of the New York Central Railway, October, 1943, has 'Wartime *Eat-iquette.* New York Central dining cars average 40 seats. Not a chair can be added to meet today's rush.'

The Burlington *Zephyr* of July, 1939, described the *Chambrette,* which was proving popular. It contains a movable armchair, disappearing bed, and a private lavatory.

The Traffic Information Letter of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, issued from Omaha, September 11, 1943, opens with the subheading 'Special Holiday *Sailings* for U.P. Streamliners. The scheduled December 24 *sailings* of City of Los Angeles Nos. 108 and 104 from both Chicago and Los Angeles will be made on December 23. These trains will arrive both Los Angeles and Chicago on December 25.' . . . 'A slight rearrangement of sleeping car equipment on the two City of San Francisco streamliners was just recently completed. . . . Union Pacific representation in the September issue of the Official Guide shows the revised *consist* of these two trains.' (Cf. *American Speech,* February, 1940, p. 105, and October, 1940, p. 342.)

STILL ANOTHER BATCH OF INDIANA SAYINGS

The sayings included in this list have only two things in common: all of them were collected in southern Indiana and all of them were heard in actual conversation. Some I remember from my boyhood; others I have heard recently, several of them in the speech of work applicants in the United States Employment Service office at Bloomington, where I have been working for the past year.

All swelled up like a poisoned pup (said of a haughty person).

Always behind like an old cow's tail.

Booze fighter (a heavy drinker).

Booze h'ister (same as above).

Clear to hell 'n' gone (a great distance away). 'By the time I got to the door, he was clear to hell 'n' gone.'

Dropped the filling out of your tooth (said to one who has dropped something on the floor, particularly if the object makes considerable noise).

Dropped the set out of your ring (same as above).

Every whipstitch (every little while).

Every time his elbow bends, his mouth flies open (said of one who is a confirmed drinker).

Fall off, to (to lose weight). 'She's fell off terrible since the boys went to the army.'

Fresh out of (just out of). 'The drug store was fresh out of that medicine.'

Get the lead out (hurry up).

Go through the motions (said sometimes by oldtimers at mealtime). 'Pull up your chair to the table and we'll go through the motions.'

Got his tit in a wringer (got himself into difficulty).

He can blow his nose on the skin of his belly (said of one who has lost a great deal of weight).

He sure would be tall if there wasn't so much turned down for feet.

He's got enough dirt on him to grow turnips.

He'd steal acorns from a blind sow.

He's a hog—all but the bristles, and they're sproutin'.

He can lie as fast as a dog can trot.

His fingers are in mourning (said of one whose nails are dirty).

His shoes ought to give a party and invite his pants legs down (said of one whose trousers are too short).

Have a knife and fork drill, to (to eat dinner).

High-tail, to (to leave in a hurry). 'They high-tailed it out of there as soon as the trouble started.'

If I was as ugly as you, I'd sue my parents.

I'll have to get me a tin bill and peck with the chickens (said jokingly by someone who is out of a job and nearly broke).

I'll slap you to a blister and then bust the blister.

I'll have to ask Frisbie (said usually to children to avoid making an outright refusal).

It needs a good swappin' off (said of an object which is about ready to be discarded).

It needs a good throwin' away (same as above).

Knocked him loose from the seat of his pants.

Laugh and make everybody hate you (said scornfully to one who is laughing at the speaker).

Laugh and get it all over your face (same as above).

Leave out, to (to leave). 'The bus leaves out in twenty minutes.'

Light in, to (to begin). 'You see what's before you on the table, folks; now light in and eat hearty.'

Lick your calf over (do again some task that was not done well the first time).

Livin' on the fat of my guts.

Narrow contracted (straight-laced, sometimes stingy).

Pack (carry) the mail, to (to run rapidly).

Put in for, to (to apply for). ' I put in for a guard job at the factory.'

Rockin' chair money (unemployment compensation).

Sull, to (to sulk).

Somebody's hit him in the face with a bar rag (said of somebody who has had a drink or two and is pretending to be drunk).

Stick around a while and we'll open a keg of nails.

Strike out, to (to go away). 'He struck out down the road a-whistlin'.'

Stand up (with), to (to be maid of honor or best man). 'He stood up along with my pa at his weddin'.'

She won't do it with anybody but a friend —and she ain't got an enemy in the world (said of a girl of loose morals).

Take out after, to (to chase).

Take your time, but hurry.

Take your time going, but hurry back.

That's what your aunt said (a 'smart' retort to some statement).

That's what your sister said when I let her up (same as above, but intentionally more insulting).

There goes your upper plate! (said when something is dropped).

The's just a nickel's worth of difference between them that work and them that don't, and them that don't work's got the nickel.

Too far from taw (usually means too far from home).

What he don't know's been tore out of the book.

Whenever (for 'when'). 'That must have been whenever Jerry was a baby.'

Where the old cow hooked you (the navel).

You forgot to wait for your change (said to someone who has paid what the speaker considers too high a price).

You're neither sugar nor salt nor anybody's honey (said to one who hesitates to go out into the rain).

PAUL G. BREWSTER
Bloomington, Indiana

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON MR. BYINGTON

Steven Tracy Byington's first contribution to *American Speech* was an article entitled 'The Attributive Noun Becomes Cancerous,' printed in the October, 1926, issue. Since that time he has been one of our most prolific contributors, as a glance at the annual indexes of *American Speech* will show. Most of the items which he has sent us have appeared separately in the 'Miscellany' section; but in February, 1938, having quite a number on hand, we collected some of them under the title 'Mr. Byington's Brief Case.' Recently we have received such a large batch of manuscripts from his pen that we decided to print another collection, under a similar title, in the present issue. Impressed by Mr. Byington's apparent omniscience in linguistic matters, and feeling that our readers must be curious to know more about him, we asked him to give us some information about himself.

He was born at Benson, Vermont, in 1868, the son of the Rev. George P. Byington and Anna (Tracy) Byington. The remainder of the story can be told best in his own words.

'I was found reading at three years old, before I had been taught. I attended the common school at Westford, Vt.; then the Castleton Normal School, which was not at that date a school of pedagogy but a high-grade academy, forbidden to teach foreign languages and specializing in extra-thorough training in such subjects as would be taught in the common schools, including English grammar under a brainy tho not college-bred teacher; then the University of Vermont (degree of A.B. 1891); later, Union Theological Seminary (New York) for one year and Oberlin Theological Seminary for half a year, at both places specializing in Bible languages as far as the curricula permitted.

'For the decade following 1891 I knocked about in various places as a very unsuccessful school-teacher, with equally unsuccessful experiments at other occupations. Those were the later days of the "philosophical anarchist" movement, in which I became prominent, and for which I did some translation from the German, as may be seen in *Who's Who in America,* vol. 8 or thereabouts, and in the bibliographical footnote to the article "Anarchism" in the *Britannica.* Toward the end of this time I did my bit in the spelling-reform movement by spelling my name Steven instead of Stephen. My mother objected, first, that I was named in memory of two men named Stephen; second, that I was baptized Stephen. To the latter argument I replied that the baptismal ceremony was oral and that the written record was not a part of the sacrament.

'In 1902 I became proofreader for Ginn and Company, school-book publishers. I had now found a place in which I could work successfully and could earn what seemed to a man of impecunious antecedents to be a comfortable living.

'As a boy in Westford, at or about the time of the publication of the

first instalment of the revised version of the Bible in 1881, I had resolved to take it as my life work to translate the Bible into current English, not as a revision of the old version but as a wholly new translation whose specialty should be to transfer the Hebrew and Greek as accurately as possible into living English as now used. I had at all times realized that for this purpose the ascertainment of what constitutes living English was as important as the study of Hebrew and Greek. Since my superannuation out of the service of Ginn and Company I have finished my translation.

'I aim at faithfulness to the original, not rewriting the sense in my own style but keeping the author's way of saying the thing, as far as a translation can. But faithful reproduction of idiomatic Hebrew or Greek requires idiomatic English: awkward English does not correctly represent an un-awkward original. And since, in general, the original was up-to-date language when it was written, nothing but up-to-date English can faithfully represent it; a revision of a centuries-old version cannot be adequate, since it cannot but retain much antique language. That the antique language makes the Bible difficult reading for the man in the street is another reason. But the translator is not bound by the limitations of the original language; for instance, Hebrew cannot make the word "servant" cover both sexes except by using a separate word for each sex, so it is literal to say simply "servants" where the old version thought "manservants and maidservants" literal.'

In addition to the items by Mr. Byington which we print in this issue, we now have in our files several other contributions from him, which we intend to publish in the fall. We hope he will send us many more.